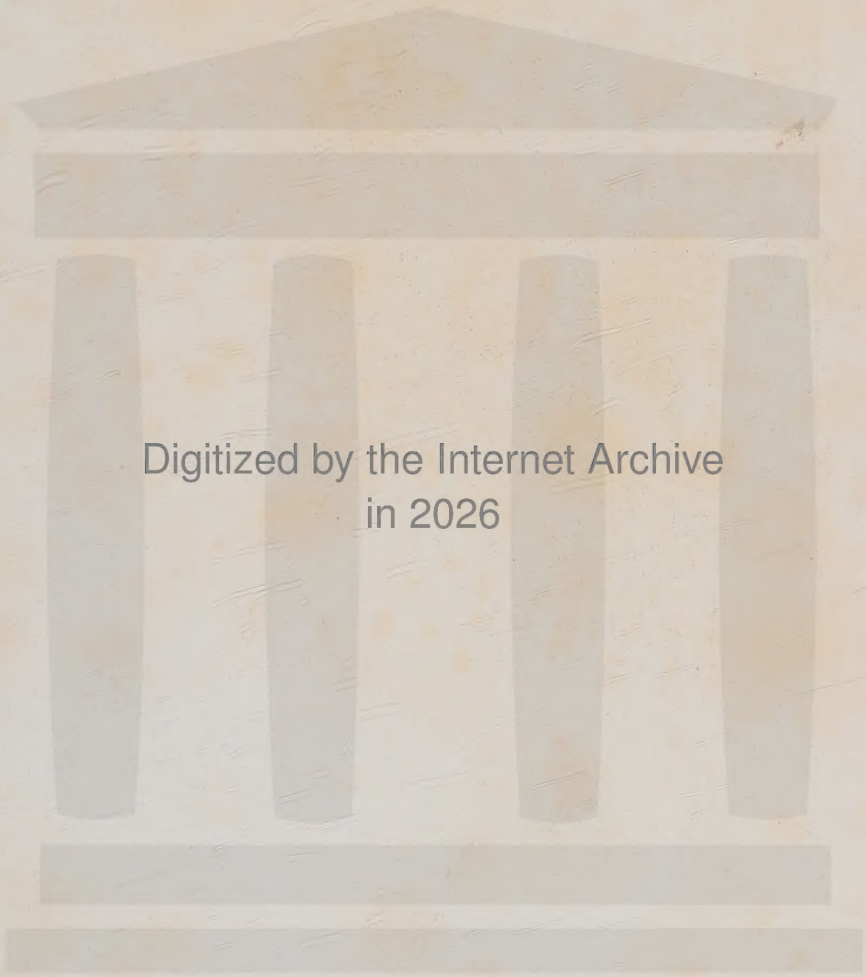
LIFE OF WILLIAM McKINLEY

OUR MARTYRED PRESIDENT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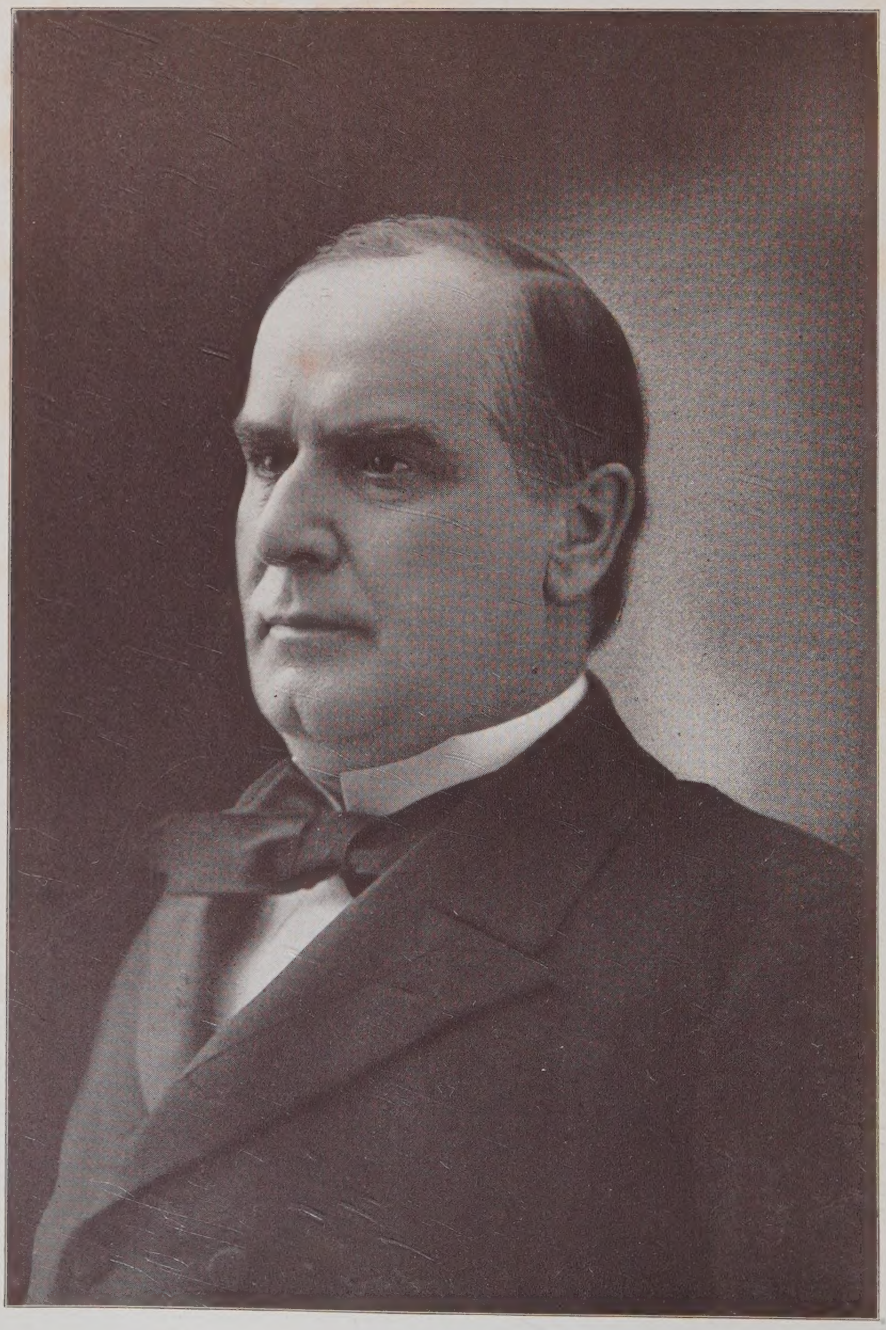

William McKinley

INTERNATIONAL MEMORIAL EDITION

LIFE OF

WILLIAM McKINLEY

OUR

MARTYRED PRESIDENT

WITH SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF LINCOLN
AND GARFIELD, AND A COMPREHENSIVE
LIFE OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

CONTAINING

The Masterpieces of McKinley's Eloquence, and a History of Anarchy, its Purposes and Results.

EDITED BY

RT. REV. SAMUEL FALLOWS, LL. D.

The Personal Friend and Comrade of the Late President; Author of "Life of Samuel Adams," "Synonyms and Antonyms," "Liberty and Union," "The Popular and Critical Biblical Encyclopædia," etc., etc.

ASSISTED BY AN ABLE CORPS OF CONTRIBUTORS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

UNITED STATES SENATOR WM. E. MASON

SUPERBLY ILLUSTRATED

REGAN PRINTING HOUSE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

PREFACE

The personal love of the author and editor of this work for President McKinley is one of the main reasons which has impelled him to give it to the public. For many years he was acquainted with the President chiefly through a common relationship as army comrades. His respect, well-nigh bordering on reverence, for Major McKinley, has been heightened by increasing years. There was a steady growth in beauty of feature and in wisdom and power as advancing positions of trust came to this illustrious man. He with the upward rose and with the vastness grew. Every "king becoming grace of character" was found in him and was expressed in new and striking forms as occasion arose. The magnificent eulogies which have been pronounced upon him, touching every phase of his many-sided, matchless life, were "but dull beside the truth."

The wonderful funeral accorded him, unprecedented in the world's history, attests the hold he had upon the hearts of his countrymen, and the spontaneous tributes of respect from all quarters of the globe, evinced the well-nigh universal esteem with which he was regarded.

All that tongue or pen or art can do to perpetuate his memory and widen the knowledge of his life and services is the just demand of the American people.

His life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him that nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

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INTRODUCTION

By Hon. William E. Mason, United States Senator from Illinois

I have been requested to write an introduction to this work and refer to the great crime of anarchy and give utterance to a few words of heartfelt appreciation of the life and services of our noble martyred chief, President McKinley.

I hope and pray that in the Congress of the United States there will be a man with brains and genius enough to draft a law that will teach the people that there is no room within the borders of this great nation for the flag of anarchy. It must die, and it will die. I think if no other lesson has been taught by the horrible deed which has cast an affliction upon this entire country, the 77,000,000 people which comprise it have registered a vow that anarchy is worse than treason and must be stamped out at any cost.

There ought to be greater protection against the vile reptiles of anarchy in this country. I have often talked with Mr. McKinley on this subject and urged that he secure better protection for himself, but it was of no avail. He would not have it that way. He always said it was too much like royalty; that he was in a free country and he wanted to be just like any other citizen. If he had been forced to have five or six guards this dastardly deed could never have been committed. This should be regulated by Congress. It is the only way to safeguard the country, for the president is the real and true representative of the country.

Lincoln was assassinated by a man who was an avowed enemy. When Garfield was assassinated it was at a time when party politics were running high. But here in the shadow of peace, with the country brim full of prosperity, a war peaceably over with, and conditions most favorable to tranquillity, there is the school of anarchy with its

doctrines taught in public places, and this vile reptile, one of its adherents, springing from the nests of anarchy in Chicago, where it is taught that it is right to kill the ruler, becomes the assassin of our beloved president—a man far above reproach and criticism even by his bitterest political enemies.

But the genius of government is too strong for anarchy. Even the gates of hell cannot prevail against it. With all its faults, it is still the best. We can look at other nations even with our president struck down and say that we have the best government.

He was the gentlest man I ever knew. The greatest men are the gentlest. With the president the more power he had the more gentle and considerate he became. In disagreements of any kind he always left his hand extended and his heart open. He was clean and fair in debate and never spoke an unkind word of an opponent. His clothes, too, were always remarkably neat and clean, like his character.

At public receptions royalty of other countries, with gold lace and other accouterments, was present, and I would look into the pale, noble face of the president and thank God that I was an American and that McKinley was president.

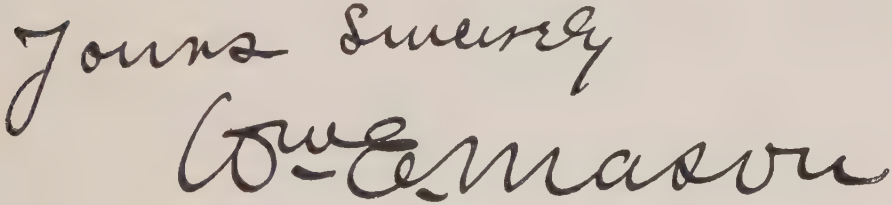
He never feared assault. He had supreme confidence in his own being that kept him from fearing anarchy. I find the great men are the most gentle. The strong man speaks not widely of his power —the more power you give him the more cautious he is in the exercise of it. I did not always agree with him in matters of policy, but he nevertheless always left his heart open and his hand out. I never heard him complain of anyone. He never spoke ill of his enemies. He never changed. Some men are frivolous in public office, but Major McKinley always maintained dignity. In his debates he never concealed a fact; no word ever passed his lips that did not come from the depths of his heart.

He loved truth, he loved geniality, he loved his home, he loved his wife—in brief, he loved all that was pure and good. If all other characteristics had been forgotten, if his record as a soldier and a president were not sufficient, and if he had done nothing for humanity, the picture of his devotion to his invalid wife alone has done enough to teach us loyalty to our homes and families.

DEARLY LOVED NATURE.

McKinley loved children—he loved flowers, he loved nature, he was more generous in giving the public a chance to see him and speak to him than anyone I ever knew in similar position. I never saw him when he did not say a few kind words to a child and take the trouble to pluck a flower. He was doing this at the very moment he was shot. If he had not turned to wave a last farewell to a little girl he might have seen the assassin in time to save him from the murderous assault.

Look at the picture of that grand man in his devotion to his invalid wife and see him kneeling by his aged mother's deathbed. If we knew nothing more of President McKinley than this it would be enough to make him a prince of men.



CHAPTER I.

The Assassination of President McKinley.

It was President's Day at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo. Flags were flying, banners waving, and the strains of martial music were in the air. The prismatic towers of the Rainbow City shone against a sky as blue as the far-famed heavens of Italy.

The chief executive of the United States delivered a masterly address to the assembled thousands, moving his audience as only the gifted orator may. At its close the cheers broke forth and lasted several minutes. It was a personal triumph which amounted to an ovation.

As the last lights sank to dimness and the tired throng went home, all seemed well. Peace and content lay upon the exposition which typified the progress of the Americas. There was no hint of the blow which was soon to fall.

The following day, William McKinley, president of the United States, went to the exposition as a guest. Arrangements had been made for a public reception at the Temple of Music, one of the most spacious buildings in the grounds.

Promptly at half past three, in the afternoon of September 6, President McKinley, accompanied by the president of the exposition, John G. Milburn, Secretary Cortelyou and a guard of detectives, arrived at the railroad depot on the grounds. Two minutes before four o'clock, the hour appointed for the reception, his carriage drew up at the entrance to the Temple.

Twenty thousand people were gathered in and around the building, and as the president bowed to the right and to the left, a great shout of welcome went up on every side. The organ in the Temple broke into the stirring strains of the national air, and the crowd fell back from the doorway through which the chief was to pass.

Inside the Temple a space had been made in the center of the floor for the president to stand and greet the thousands who were waiting to grasp his hand.

Perhaps a hundred men, women and children had gone slowly up the long aisle and looked into the kindly face that met each one with a smile. Then there was a break in the line and a rush of exposition guards toward the door through which the crowds were entering.

At the moment a woman was standing before Mr. McKinley. The trouble at the door apparently subsided and the woman gave way to a well dressed man. He grasped the president's hand warmly and spoke a few words, then the crowd pushed him on.

The next was a burly colored man, whom the President greeted with the same smile Secret Service Agents Foster and Ireland were standing directly across from the president, closely scanning each man and woman passing along in the line.

When the next man appeared, the government officers saw before them a quietly-dressed, intelligent appearing young man with reddish hair and smooth shaven cheeks. His right hand was thrust beneath the lapel of his coat and a handkerchief was wrapped about it in such a way as to give the impression that the hand had been injured.

The man turned his eyes squarely upon the president's face and extended his left hand.

Mr. McKinley observed that the man before him was offering his left hand instead of his right, and his eyes wandered to the hand thrust beneath the coat. Then his own right hand closed about the fingers of the man who, like Judas, was to betray him.

The touch of Mr. McKinley's hand seemed to rouse the man to action. He leaned suddenly forward, at the same time holding the president's hand in a vise-like hold. He drew Mr. McKinley the barest trifle toward him and the right hand flashed from beneath the coat lapel.

The hand and fingers were hidden by the folds of the handkerchief. The man thrust the hand fairly against the president's breast and pulled the trigger of the weapon that the white bit of cloth was hiding.

Two pistol shots rang out sharply and echoed back from the walls of the Temple. President McKinley dropped the man's hand and staggered back. Upon his face was a look of angry surprise.

Secretary Cortelyou and President Milburn, who were standing a little behind him, caught him as he was falling and drew him into a chair. The president's first words were: "May God forgive him."

At the sound of the shots Detective Ireland of the secret service force leaped upon the man like a tiger and close behind him came the colored man who had just shaken hands with the president. They were struggling with him on the floor when the president reached the chair. Turning his head to Detective Gerry, another member of his bodyguard, he asked:

"Am I shot?"

He had evidently been so stunned by surprise that he had not felt the impact of the bullets. Meanwhile Secretary Cortelyou had torn open the president's vest. Blood was on his shirt front, and Detective

Gerry, answering his question, said: "I fear you are, Mr. President."

Secretary Cortelyou sank on one knee at the side of the president and looked anxiously into his face.

"Do not be alarmed," said the president, "it is nothing." Then his head sank forward into his hands for a moment, but he raised it, despite the stream of crimson which came from the wound in his breast and spread in an ever widening circle on his white shirt front.

"But you are wounded," exclaimed Mr. Cortelyou; "let me examine."

"No, no," insisted the president, "I am not badly injured, I assure you."

The guards were driving the crowds out of the building. Mr. Cortelyou asked the president if he felt any pain. Mr. McKinley slipped his hand through his shirt front and pressed his fingers against his breast.

"I feel a sharp pain here," he said. Then, as he withdrew his hand and saw blood dripping from his finger tips, he compressed his lips tightly, then turned to those about him and said, in a whisper:

"I trust Mrs. McKinley will not be informed of this. At least try to see that what she must know of it be not exaggerated in the telling."

Mr. McKinley's head sank back on the chair and he seemed to be drowsy. Tears filled the eyes of those who were watching at his side, but there was not a sound to break the dead silence that had followed his last utterance.

Then there was a commotion just outside the little circle, and Minister Aspiroz, of Mexico, forced his way to a place close beside Mr. McKinley, crying: "O God, Mr. President, are you shot?"

Mr. McKinley roused himself and smiled sadly. "Yes—I believe I—am," he gasped. His head sank back again but only for a moment. Suddenly straightening up in his chair, he gripped the arms tightly and thrust his feet out in front of him with a quick, nervous movement. Thus he sat, with his lips tightly closed, an example of superb self-control, until the ambulance arrived.

When the secret service men and the colored man first threw themselves upon the assassin, pinning him to the floor, lest he should try to use the revolver again, twenty more men hurled themselves upon the scrambling quartet and buried him from sight. Every man in that struggling, crazy throng was striving to get hold of the assassin, to strike him, to rend him, to wreak upon him the mad fury which possessed them the instant they realized what he had done.

The greater part of the crowd was stunned for an instant by the enormity of the crime they witnessed, but when the reaction came they

surged forward like wild beasts, the strongest pushing the weakest aside and forcing themselves forward to where the prisoner was held by his captors.

A tumult of sound filled the place—a hollow roar at first, punctuated by the shrieks of women and swelling into a medley of yells and curses.

A little force of exposition guards, penned in by the clamoring mob, fought desperately to hold their prisoner from the blood-thirsty crowd.

They had him, safe and fast. His revolver had been wrenched from him in the instant that Detective Ireland fell upon him, and he was helpless, bruised and bleeding. His face was cut when he was thrown to the floor and a dozen eager hands had struck at him and reached him over the heads of the officers.

Slowly, very slowly, the little force of police made way through the crowd, dragging the prisoner between them. They were determined there should be no lynching.

From outside the building, where the news had spread from lip to lip, still other thousands were endeavoring to get in. More police came plunging into the crowd from headquarters, where the direful news had sped. They hurled themselves upon the swaying mob, they struck and pushed and shouted commands. Massing their men where they could best handle the excited crowd, they cleared a passage to one of the doors for the bearing away of the president, and on the stretcher of an ambulance which had come clanging to the door, he was tenderly carried from the building and borne in the ambulance to the emergency hospital, near the service building, in the exposition grounds.

Through the crowd the policemen dragged their prisoner, until they reached a little room just off the west stage of the Temple of Music. His face was still bleeding from the blows given him by the negro, Parker, who had cried, as he was torn away from him, "Oh, only for ten seconds more!"

Once inside the little room, the door was closed with a bang, but the mob, with its blind impulse, surging against the building, fairly made the walls creak.

The scene in the little room was all confusion. Officers were hurrying in and out. Some were trying to conceal the fact that the man was there, and others betrayed it in a loud voice as soon as they left the room. One excited exposition official called upon the people to "go in and get the man."

In the room with the prisoner were nine officers. He was hurled upon a table and sat there, putting his sleeve to his lips at intervals, looking at the floor, and nervously rubbing his shoes together. Now and

MRS. WILLIAM McKINLEY

then he breathed deeply from nervous agitation, but he did not speak.

Outside the building could be seen the tumultuous throng of people. From all parts of the grounds they had come to the common center. Now and then some man's voice would call out: "Don't let him get away," and there would be a score of answering shouts of "Kill him!" "Hang him!" "Get a rope!" "Take him up on the arch and burn him!"

An automobile mail wagon, only the top of which was visible above the crowd, appeared between the Temple and the Government Building. The angry crowd thought it was coming for the prisoner.

"Guard the doors and stop that wagon!" a man shouted. The wagon was stopped, but proceeded by a circuitous route a few moments later.

Around the main door was a squad of policemen. Then a detachment of marines arrived, under command of Captain Leonard. They formed in line. Then in a loud, clear tone which penetrated far into the crowd, came the order: "Load rifles!"

The breeches clicked and the men held up to plain view the hard steel and the encasing brass as they filled their rifles with cartridges.

The moral effect was obvious, for the women started a movement to draw back and the great impulse of vengeance seemed broken. Men and women who had been dry-eyed began to cry.

The lips of the marines were twitching, but the heads on the broad shoulders were motionless, as the breath was held firm and steady. So men look when facing a mighty duty with a mighty heart.

The little room where the prisoner was held contained a quantity of rope, which was used for shutting off the esplanade at time of drill and special festivities. "Rope off the south approaches to the building so we can get the wagon in here," said Colonel Byrne.

"You will never get that wagon forty feet with him in it," said Detective Ireland. "We must have a carriage and horses. The people can stop an automobile better than they can horses."

Some distance away was the carriage in which part of the committee had come to the Temple of Music. On the box was a little coachman. As he received his orders and was told that his carriage was to take the prisoner away, he smiled. "All right," he said.

"Gentlemen," said the leader inside, "every moment of this delay is making matters worse. The crowd is getting more and more worked up and it is getting bigger. It reaches way out over the esplanade now. Give this man to me and I give you my word I will get him to Buffalo. Here are two Buffalo officers who will go with me."

"The best plan is to jump him right into this carriage and get him

right out of here," said Detective Ireland. The military guards were immediately informed of the plans.

The roped off space was sufficient to admit the carriage, and the commander of the exposition police gave the signal. A guard led the way, there was a guard on each side of the prisoner and two followed him. The coachman whipped up his horses and dashed to the door. The marines and artillerymen dropped their guns until the bayonets were at charge. As the carriage drew up a policeman swung open its door. At the same time, the door of the little room opened, and out came the prisoner, with his guards.

He was literally hurled into the carriage by the policemen. The crowd surged to the door, yelling: "Here he comes!" "This door!" "This door!" The lines of soldiers swayed, but did not break.

"There he is! There he is! Kill him! Kill him!" came from a thousand throats. "Don't let that carriage get away, you cowards!" "Kill him!" "Kill him!" "Kill the bloody anarchist!"

It was a bedlam of curses and yells from people fighting to get closer, waving their fists, with here and there a revolver gleaming in the sun. The roar of the mob was a thing never to be forgotten. It had the deadly, intense growl, the wild, blood-thirsty shriek and the raucous, savage note, that is not heard once in a generation.

As the carriage moved away, a policeman swung himself to the seat beside the coachman. As the wheels moved beyond the rope, men, and even women, sprang forward, caught at the wheels and clutched at the horses' harness. The driver had a whip with a long lash which he played alternately upon the horses and the faces of the crowd.

Once, as the carriage neared the Triumphal Causeway, the crush became too dense to pass through. Strong limbed, angry men were in pursuit behind and it looked as if the carriage was to be stopped in front. The coachman smiled and, standing up, sped his long lash out over the horses' heads. They increased their speed to a gallop, and the crowd parted.

Once on the causeway all was well, for the outer limits of the crowd had been reached, and the narrowness of the way beyond, as well as the downward slope of the road, facilitated movement. The crowd gave up its pursuit and the carriage speedily went to the Lincoln Park gateway, which swung open as it drew near. From this point straight down Delaware avenue, the journey was little interrupted.

The prisoner, from the moment he had touched the cushions of the carriage had cowered in the corner, now and then raising his head as he looked out of the windows. When he heard the awful imprecations as the mob struggled to get near enough to take vengeance con-

vulsive shivers ran through his slender body and his eyes rolled wide with terror. His lips were dry and parched and he moistened them constantly with his tongue.

As the carriage passed the Milburn residence, the guard who was nearest him looked up at the front of the house in which Mrs. McKinley lay asleep, and, clutching his club closer in his hand, turned upon the prisoner a look which made him cower deeper in the cushions

Just south of Utica street, the carriage met a light police wagon, in which was Superintendent Bull, who turned and followed the carriage down to headquarters at Station No. 1. There the carriage drew up sharply and the prisoner was taken in, while a score of idlers, always about, looked on with bare interest.

A moment later bicyclists who were following told them the President had been shot and the man who had done it was the prisoner who had just been taken in.

The news spread rapidly. When bulletins began to appear on the boards along newspaper row and when the announcement was made that the prisoner had been taken to police headquarters only two blocks distant from the newspaper section, the crowd surged down toward the Terrace, eager for a glimpse of the prisoner.

At police headquarters they were met by a strong cordon of police, which was drawn across the pavement on Pearl street, and admittance was denied to any but officials authorized to take part in the examination of the prisoner. In a few minutes the crowd had grown from tens to hundreds, and these in turn quickly swelled to thousands, until the street was completely blocked with a mass of humanity.

Some one raised the cry of "Lynch him!" Like a flash the cry was echoed and re-echoed by the crowd, until it became an imperious demand. The thousands surged forward.

The situation was becoming critical. Suddenly the doors were flung open and a squad of reserves advanced with solid front to the other side of the street. Gradually they were dispersed, but not before the entire street in front of police headquarters had been roped off.

Inside the station house, the authorities were questioning the assassin. He first gave his name as Fred Nieman, said his home was in Detroit and that he had been in Buffalo about a week. He said he had been boarding at a place in Broadway. Later, this place was located as John Nowak's saloon, a Raines law hotel, at 1078 Broadway. Here the prisoner had occupied a room for about a week.

John Nowak, the proprietor, said he knew very little about the man. He had been alone at all times and had had no visitors. In his room was found a small traveling bag of cheap make, which contained only an empty cartridge box and a few clothes.

When he was first arrested, he answered a query as to his motive, by saying: "I am an anarchist, and I did my duty." At headquarters he denied that he was an anarchist, but would give no other reason for his deed. He persistently refused to answer questions. With lips tightly closed and with eyes upon the floor, he sat stolidly listening to the torrent of questions poured upon him, and answered none of them after making the first brief statements about his name and residence. Later, he confessed that his name was Leon Czolgosz and that he was a disciple of Emma Goldman, the anarchist.

Still later, he signed a confession which stated that he had no confederate, that he decided three days ago to commit the crime, and that he had bought the revolver in Buffalo. He did not appear in the least degree uneasy or penitent for his action, nor did he show any signs of insanity.

In the meantime, the president was in the hospital. Probably it was not more than five minutes from the time the shots were fired until the examination by the surgeons had begun. They discovered that one bullet had entered the breast, striking the bone, then glanced aside, and the other had struck the abdomen five inches below the left nipple and one and a half inches to the left of the median line. The stomach lying directly under that spot, the gravest fears were entertained regarding the consequences of that wound.

Dr. Roswell Park, an eminent surgeon, was immediately sent for. About six o'clock he arrived at the hospital and with the assistance of Dr. Mynter and several other surgeons, began a search for the ball. It was found that the bullet had passed completely through the stomach, piercing both walls, and had lodged somewhere in the back, but it could not be found.

The surgeons abandoned the search for the bullet and closed the apertures in the stomach with several stitches both in front and back. The President was under an anaesthetic during the operation and within an hour after it was over, he recovered from the effects of the opiate. It was announced that he was resting easily and had a good chance for recovery. The principal danger, it was said, lay in the development of peritonitis.

As soon as the surgeons made the announcement that the President was in no immediate danger, President Milburn made arrangements to have the patient removed to his house on Delaware avenue. The chief of police immediately ordered the streets roped off, over which the ambulance would pass, and stationed guards to prevent all other traffic.

An automobile ambulance was brought to the emergency hospital and with the utmost care the President was removed to Mr. Milburn's

MR. WILLIAM McKINLEY
Father of the President

home. Police were placed on guard in all directions within a block of the house, with orders that nothing be allowed to disturb the distinguished patient.

For two hours after the shooting, Mrs. McKinley was probably the only one in Buffalo who knew nothing of it. She was at the home of President Milburn, resting from the fatigue of the morning excursion to Niagara. Realizing that to one in her delicate state of health the shock might have serious effects, the physicians issued strict orders that she was not to be told until the last possible moment.

She awoke from her sleep about half-past five. She was feeling well, she said, and at once took up her crocheting, which is one of her favorite diversions. She kept at it as long as it was light, remaining in her room.

When it became dusk and the President had not arrived, she grew anxious concerning him. "I wonder why he does not come," she said to one of her nieces. There was no clock in her room, and it was seven o'clock before she realized that it was so late. She now began to feel very anxious, since she expected him at six o'clock.

At seven o'clock, Dr. Rixey, the family physician of President and Mrs. McKinley, arrived at the Milburn residence. To him was assigned the dreaded task of breaking the direful news to the invalid wife.

At half past seven he came out, and returned to the exposition grounds in a carriage. He had broken the news most gently to Mrs. McKinley, and said that she had borne up bravely. If it was possible to bring him to her, she wanted it done. Dr. Rixey assured her that the president could safely be removed, and he left Mr. Milburn's to personally superintend the arrangements.

The Milburn house was transformed into a bustling place almost immediately upon the arrival of the ambulance bearing the wounded President. While the sick room was absolutely quiet and no sound penetrated its walls, the parlor below had been transformed into an office, and two stenographers, with their typewriting machines, were installed to answer the telegrams and letters which began to pour in. Arrangements were made for telegraph wires to be placed in the house.

The first official bulletin regarding the condition of the President was issued by Secretary Cortelyou at seven o'clock. He prefaced it with the statement that it had been prepared by the physicians. It read thus:

"The President was shot about four o'clock. One bullet struck him on the upper portion of the breast bone, glancing and not penetrating. The second bullet penetrated the abdomen five inches below the left nipple and one and one-half inches to the left of the median line.

"The abdomen was opened through the line of the bullet wound. It was found that the bullet had penetrated the stomach. The opening in

the front wall of the stomach was carefully closed with silk stitches, after which a search was made for a hole in the back wall of the stomach. This was found and closed in the same way.

"The further course of the bullet could not be discovered, although careful search was made. The abdominal wound was closed without drainage. No injury to the intestines or other abdominal organ was discovered.

"The patient stood the operation well. Pulse of good quality, rate of 130. Condition at the conclusion of the operation was gratifying. The result cannot be foretold. His condition at present justifies hope of recovery. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,

"Secretary to the President."

The sad news sped around the world. Living wires flashed it from end to end of the continent; through unsounded seas to distant lands. Though divided into political factions, at that moment the American people stood as one.

Bulletins were issued at frequent intervals. For a day or two there was suspense, then encouraging news. The next two days were marked by still further progress. On the 10th of September, four days after the shooting, the physicians were confident that he had passed the danger line.

Yet, with true professional conservatism, they refused to give a final statement to that effect, save to the family and to those who were waiting anxiously in the spacious rooms of the Milburn mansion. There was still danger—with the stomach perforated, a bullet hidden somewhere in his back, and septic poisoning always possible.

The President maintained his strength and was cheerful. He asked for the morning papers, but his request could not be granted.

For the first time since the assassin was taken away, the President asked what had been done with him, and was told that he was being held as a prisoner.

"He must have been crazy," said the President. "I never saw the man until he approached me at the reception." When told that the man was an anarchist, the President replied:

"Too bad, too bad!" I trust, though, that he will be treated with all fairness."

HOPE OF RECOVERY ENCOURAGED.

The good news which came from the President's bedside was received with great joy throughout the world. At the Grand Army encampment, which was then being held in Cleveland, General Daniel Sickles strode into headquarters, and said to those assembled there:

"Comrades, let us thank God for the good news from Buffalo. The

Lord has heard the prayer of the world. Christian, Mohammedan, Chinese and all people have united with us in prayer that McKinley might be spared to us. That prayer is answered. Blessed be the name of the Lord, who preserves that great personality to us."

Mrs. McKinley was very happy over the good news. "We trust in God and believe Mr. McKinley is going to recover speedily," she said. "I know he has the best medical attendance that can be obtained and I am perfectly satisfied that these doctors are handling the case splendidly. It is a great pleasure to know the deep interest and sympathy felt by the American people. The case is progressing so favorably that we are all very happy."

On September 11 the physicians publicly pronounced him out of danger. Vice President Roosevelt left Buffalo for a trip through the Adirondacks, and the members of the Cabinet returned to Washington.

A SUDDEN CHANGE.

Suddenly, without warning, there was a change for the worse. The first alarm came from the house at two o'clock on the morning of September 13, two hours after the encouraging official bulletin sent out after the midnight consultation of the physicians. The signal of fear was the sending of messages to all the physicians to return to the house at once. The President had had a sinking spell.

At three o'clock it was authoritatively admitted that the President was in an extremely critical condition.

It was stated in the official bulletin, issued at 3:20 a. m., that "the condition of the President gives rise to the gravest apprehensions."

Throughout the day and evening the expectations of attendant friends and physicians oscillated as a pendulum between hope and despair. Hopeless bulletins followed encouraging reports from the sick room, and they in turn gave way to recurrent hope.

All who passed in and out of the house during the day were questioned as to the President's condition, but little of an encouraging nature could be learned. The truth was too evident to be passed over or concealed. The President's life was hanging in the balance. The watchers felt that at any moment might come the announcement of a change which would foreshadow the end.

A slight improvement was noted in the early bulletins and was maintained during the morning and early afternoon. When it was learned that the President was taking small quantities of nourishment hope rose that he would pass the crisis in safety. Yet every one knew that the coming night, in all probability, would decide whether the President was to live or die. It was known that he was being kept alive by the

strongest of heart stimulants, and that the physicians had obtained a supply of oxygen to be used if the worst came.

During the day the President was conscious when he was not asleep. Early in the morning when he awoke, he looked out of the window and saw the sky was overcast with heavy clouds.

"It is not so bright as it was yesterday," he said. His eyes then caught the waving branches of the trees, glistening with rain, and he spoke again. "It is pleasant to see them," he said, feebly.

Mrs. McKinley saw the President only once during the day, and then only for a moment. No words passed between them. The physicians led her to his bedside and after she had looked at him for a moment, they led her away.

She was told that he was not so well, but the physicians did not deem it best to explain the complications to her, or the real gravity of his condition.

As fast as steam could bring them the President's secretaries, the members of his family, and the physicians who had left, convinced that he would recover, were whirled back to the city, going at once to the Milburn house.

All night the physicians worked to keep the President alive. The day began with a gloomy sky and a pouring rain, broken by frequent bursts that amounted to a torrent. Gloom surrounded the ivy-clad house about which the sentries were steadily marching.

No bulletin was issued at six o'clock, as had been customary. Almost as soon as it became light, men and women began to gather about the ropes which had been stretched in each direction a block away from the house.

Mrs. McKinley was awake early. She had slept well throughout the night. She was isolated in a corner of the Milburn house and, further removed by careful guarding, she remained all unconscious of the cloud over her head, while the wounded husband, for whose ease her strong soul had struggled to overcome a disease-shattered body for days, fought for life.

Yet, as soon as she awoke, she instinctively scented danger. Tremblingly, she asked to be taken to her husband earlier than usual. She was advised to wait a while. Without sign of complaint but with a world of suffering in her eyes, she submitted. She feared to ask for a reason and nobody dared to give her one.

Throughout the day anxiety grew. At half past six a bulletin was issued, signed by Secretary Cortelyou, which read as follows:

"The President's physicians report that his condition is most serious in spite of vigorous stimulation. The depression continues, and is profound. Unless it can be relieved, the end is only a question of time."

Before this bulletin was issued, it was clear to those at his bedside that he was dying. Preparations were made for the last sad office of farewell from those who were nearest and dearest to him. Oxygen had been administered steadily, but with little effect in keeping back the approach of death. He came out of one period of unconsciousness, only to relapse into another.

DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT.

About eight o'clock at night oxygen was given him again, and under its influence he slightly revived. He told Dr. Rixey that he realized that he was about to die, and asked for Mrs. McKinley.

She came and knelt down by his bedside, and his eyes rested lovingly upon her. He put out his hands, laid them upon hers, and tenderly drew her to him. What he said in that feeble whisper, only he and she knew.

Mrs. McKinley raised her tear-stained face and said to Dr. Rixey: "I know that you will save him. I cannot let him go. The country cannot spare him."

The President's strength did not last long. Unconsciousness returned and they led her gently away.

At 10 o'clock she was summoned to him again. He was awaiting her. With his last strength he strove to clasp her hand. She bent over him, and his lips moved feebly.

"Good-by, all, good-by," he said. "It is God's way. His will, not ours, be done." Then, as he sank into unconsciousness for the last time, he murmured: "Nearer, my God, to Thee.

At 2:15 o'clock, on the morning of September 14, 1901, the President died. His last breath passed calmly and almost imperceptibly. Peace and forgiveness were written on his white face. He had been unconscious for several hours and his death was free from pain.

Again the wires flashed the news around the world. United in a common sorrow, eighty million American hearts ached as one. Throughout the night many thousands had been anxiously waiting for news. The blood-red sun arose upon countless flags that drooped at half-mast.

ARRIVAL OF ROOSEVELT—SWORN IN AS PRESIDENT.

All day messengers were hunting for Theodore Roosevelt, who, fully believing in the recovery of his chief, was in the mountain woods, far away from civilization. Through the Adirondacks bugles sounded imperiously, calling him to the highest office in the land.

It was late afternoon when he was found. The sun was sinking behind the distant peaks. The yellowed leaves of early autumn, as

now and then one fell in the silence of the forest, shone like gold in the last light of the day.

The breathless messenger told him what had happened. He leaned upon his gun, looking far out across the hills toward the sun which had risen upon the third martyred President of the republic. There were tears in his eyes. Then he set his teeth together and went back with the messenger, having said not a single word.

After a record-breaking journey he arrived at Buffalo, going first, as the humblest citizen might, to the bier of the dead President. At 3:32 o'clock Saturday afternoon, September 14, 1901, Theodore Roosevelt became the President of the United States. Judge John R. Hazel, of the United States District Court, administered the oath of office in the library of the residence of Mr. Ansley Wilcox, at Buffalo. Mr. Roosevelt during his stay in Buffalo made his home at the house of Mr. Wilcox, who was an old friend of the Roosevelt family. In this simple, unostentatious manner did the Vice-President assume the high duties of President of the United States.

CHAPTER II.

Proclamation by President Roosevelt. Funeral Processions and Rites

President Roosevelt on Saturday evening, September 14, issued the following proclamation:

"By the President of the United States, a Proclamation:

"A terrible bereavement has befallen our people. The President of the United States has been struck down; a crime has been committed not only against the chief magistrate, but against every law-abiding and liberty-loving citizen.

"President McKinley crowned a life of largest love for his fellow men, of most earnest endeavor for their welfare, by a death of Christian fortitude, and both the way in which he lived his life and the way in which, in the supreme hour of trial, he met his death will remain forever a precious heritage of our people.

"It is meet that we as a nation express our abiding love and reverence for his life, our deep sorrow for his untimely death.

"Now, therefore, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do appoint Thursday next, September 19, the day on which the body of the dead President will be laid in its last earthly resting place, as a day of mourning and prayer throughout the United States. I earnestly recommend all the people to assemble on that day in their respective places of divine worship, there to bow down in submission to the will of Almighty God, and to pay out of full hearts their homage of love and reverence to the great and good President whose death has smitten the nation with bitter grief.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Buffalo, the fourteenth day of September, A. D. one thousand nine hundred and one, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-sixth.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"By the President.

"JOHN HAY, Secretary of State."

There were three funerals. The first, of William McKinley the martyr, was held in Buffalo, where he died. The second, of William

McKinley the President, was held in Washington, at the seat of government. The last, of William McKinley the man, was held in Canton, his old home.

The service in Buffalo, which was held in Milburn house, was simple. It was marked by none of the pomp of state. It was such as the humblest might have had, if he had been loved by his fellow men.

The funeral train was made ready for the sad journey to Washington. On the observation car, attached to the rear of the train, elevated so that it might be readily seen, was the heavy cedar casket which contained the body of the President, guarded by men from the army and the navy, of which he was commander in chief.

The locomotive was heavily draped in black, and the windows of the train were shaded. Only the flag shone brightly, lying over the body of him who had served it well.

Along the way the church bells tolled as the cortege passed through. Flags hung at half-mast, and from each one hung the streamer of black. Women and children strewed flowers upon the track, as if to soothe the passage of the chief.

The night of September 16 was spent in the White House. The President was there for the last time. Only relatives and friends were admitted. The servants who wept over the body of the President, by their tears paid an eloquent tribute to the man.

For a long time, in the evening, Mrs. McKinley sat by him alone. The room was cleared of even the naval and military guard. At last she was led away, so utterly bowed down with grief, that Dr. Rixey decided that she could not attend the public funeral the next day.

The cortege was formed at the White House by nine o'clock. While muffled drums beat the long roll and the military band played softly "Nearer, My God, to Thee," the casket was lifted by the guard of soldiers and sailors and placed in the hearse. Then "The Dead March from Saul" was heard, and the line moved.

President Roosevelt, in a carriage drawn by four black horses, and with a band of crape around his arm, immediately followed the hearse. The justices of the supreme court, in their black robes of office; the men of the army and navy, in the full dress of their rank; representatives of foreign governments, in all their trappings of state, were also in line.

The people, by their government, followed his cortege down the avenue, which they had twice traversed in his train to a triumphal inauguration. Under the dome of the national capitol, the people, by their government, bowed beside his bier.

The pictured symbolism of a free nation's rise looked down from the

MRS. WILLIAM McKINLEY
Mother of the President

wall. The shades of Lincoln and of Garfield could be felt hovering overhead to lead a third into the hall of martyrs. From the lips of the painted Washington on the canvas, standing among his associates in the building of the republic, and from the sculptured Jefferson on his pedestal, one could almost hear the words: "Has our work come to this—thrice the chosen leader of a free people dead by the assassin's hand?"

Out of the air in answer one could almost hear the sublime words which reverberated across a continent when Lincoln fell, from the lips of one who was destined to follow him: "My countrymen! God reigns, and the government at Washington still lives."

The casket was lifted from the spot where Lincoln's had rested a generation ago. It was a tragic parallel. Both had been chosen in time of dire distress to lead the nation out of trouble. Both had guided the ship of state through war.

Six months before, vigorous in mind and body, William McKinley had gone to the capitol to take the oath of office for the second time. His progress was marked by cheering thousands, and the star-spangled flag he had ever loved and served shone in the sun on every side.

That route of triumph became a pathway of tears. The people were there, and the flags, but there were signs of sorrow in the white and crimson folds, and tears in the eyes of those who saw him pass. Handkerchiefs, that once waved greeting were pressed to quivering lips to keep back the sound of sobs. The huzzas of March were hushed in September. Where were gladness and gayety were grief and heart-ache now.

Solemnly the funeral line wound past the Treasury building and into the broad sweep of Pennsylvania avenue. The people stood in the rain with heads uncovered, and bowed in sadness as the chieftain passed.

The home of the nation's government awaited the cortege in solemn simplicity. A flag flying at half-mast over the marble entrance was the only sign of mourning. Not a strip of black drapery was in sight, the law decreeing that the government buildings should not be draped in black.

The faint notes of the bugle sounding the approach of the cortege were heard at half-past ten. "Nearer, My God, to Thee," the funeral anthem of the President, softly drifted in. With slow and solemn tread the casket was borne up the broad terrace of steps, on the shoulders of soldiers and marines, and placed upon the catalfaque directly under the dome.

The representatives of the people ranged themselves about it. Softly a choir sang, "Lead, Kindly Light."

Rev. Dr. Naylor prayed in the name of the whole people. Then a woman's voice, tremulous with tears, sang sweetly: "Some Time We Shall Understand."

The venerable Bishop Andrews, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, read the scriptural assurances of life beyond the grave. Then, fervently, and from his heart he spoke of the nation's dead chief as follows:

FUNERAL SERMON BY BISHOP ANDREWS AT WASHINGTON, SEPT. 17.

Bishops Andrews' patriarchal and kindly appearance, added to the eloquent depth of feeling manifested in every word he spoke, made a profound impression.

Bishop Andrews' sermon was as follows:

" 'Blessed be the God and Father of Our Lord, who of His abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope of the resurrection from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for us who are now, by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time.'

"The services for the dead are fitly and almost of necessity services of religion and of immortal hope. In the presence of the shroud and the coffin and the narrow home, questions concerning intellectual quality, concerning public station, concerning great achievements, sink into comparative insignificance; and questions concerning character and man's relation to the Lord and Giver of life, even the life eternal, emerge to our view and impress themselves upon us.

SAYS "CHARACTER ABIDES."

"Character abides. We bring nothing into this world; we can carry nothing out. We ourselves depart with all the accumulations of tendency and habit and quality which the years have given to us. We ask, therefore, even at the grave of the illustrious, not altogether what great achievement they had performed and how they had commended themselves to the memory and affection or respect of the world, but chiefly of what sort they were; what the interior nature of the man was; what were his affinities? Were they with the good, the true, the noble? What his relation to the Infinite Lord of the Universe and to the compassionate Savior of mankind; what his fitness for that great hereafter to which he had passed?

LOSS OF A BELOVED MAN.

"And such great questions come to us with moment, even in the hour when we gather around the bier of those whom we profoundly

respect and eulogize and whom we tenderly love. In the years to come, the days and the months that lie immediately before us, will give full utterance as to the high statesmanship and great achievements of the illustrious man whom we mourn today. The nation already has broken out in its grief and poured its tears, and is still pouring them, over the loss of a beloved man. It is well. But we ask this morning of what sort this man is, so that we may perhaps, knowing the moral and spiritual life that is past, be able to shape the far-withdrawing future. I think we must all concede that nature and training and—reverently be it said—the inspiration of the Almighty conspired to conform a man admirable in his moral temper and aims.

EMINENTLY GIFTED BY NATURE.

"We none of us can doubt, I think, that even by nature he was eminently gifted. The kindly, calm and equitable temperament, the kindly and generous heart, the love of justice and right, and the tendency toward faith and loyalty to unseen powers and authorities—these things must have been with him from his childhood, from his infancy—but upon them supervened the training for which he was always tenderly thankful and of which even this great nation, from sea to sea, continually has taken note.

BORN IN HUMBLE HOME.

"It was an humble home in which he was born. Narrow conditions were around him, but faith in God had lifted that lowly roof, according to the statement of some great writer, up to the very heavens and permitted its inmates to behold the things eternal, immortal and divine; and he came under that training.

"It is a beautiful thing that to the end of his life he bent reverently before that mother whose example and teaching and prayer had so fashioned his mind and all his aims.

"He was helpful in all of those beneficences and activities; and from the church to the close of his life he received inspiration that lifted him above much of the trouble and weakness incident to our human nature, and, blessings be to God, may we say in the last and final hour they enabled him confidently, tenderly to say: 'It is His will, not ours, that will be done.'

OF INCORRUPTIBLE INTEGRITY.

"Such influences gave to us William McKinley. And what was he? A man of incorruptible personal and political integrity. I suppose no one ever attempted to approach him in the way of a bribe; and we remember with great felicitation at this time for such an example to our-

selves, that when great financial difficulties and perils encompassed him he determined to deliver all he possessed to his creditors; that there should be no challenge of his perfect honesty in the matter. A man of immaculate purity, shall we say?

HIS ESCUTCHEON UNSTAINED.

"No stain was upon his escutcheon; no syllable of suspicion that I ever heard was whispered against his character. He walked in perfect and noble self-control.

"Shall I speak a word next of that which I will hardly advert to? The tenderness of that domestic love which has so often been commented upon? I pass it with only that word. I take it that no words can set forth fully the unfaltering kindness and carefulness and upbearing love which belonged to this great man.

SUCCESS DUE TO MORAL QUALITIES.

"And now may I say further that it seemed to me that to whatever we may attribute all the illustriousness of this man all the greatness of his achievements—whatever of that we may attribute to his intellectual character and quality, whatever of it we may attribute to the patient and thorough study which he gave to the various questions thrust upon him for attention, for all his successes as a politician, as a statesman, as a man of this great country, those successes were largely due to the moral qualities of which I have spoken. They drew to him the hearts of men everywhere and particularly of those who best knew him.

CONFIDED TO HIS HONOR.

"They believed in him, felt his kindness, confided in his honesty and in his honor. His qualities even associated with him in kindly relations those who were his political opponents. They made it possible for him to enter that land with which he, as one of the soldiers of the Union, had been in some sort at war and to draw closer the tie that was to bind all the parts in one firmer and indissoluble union. They commanded the confidence of the great body of congress, so that they listened to his plans and accepted kindly and hopefully and trustfully all his declarations. His qualities gave him reputation, not in this land alone, but throughout the world, and made it possible for him to minister in the style in which he has within the last two or three years ministered to the welfare and peace of humankind.

WILL SUCH A MAN DIE?

"It was out of the profound depths of his moral and religious character that came the possibilities of that usefulness which we are all glad

JOHN D. LONG
Secretary of the Navy

to attribute to him. And will such a man die? Is it possible that He who created, redeemed, transformed, uplifted, illumined such a man will permit him to fall into oblivion?

"The instincts of morality are in all good men. The divine word of the Scripture leaves us no room for doubt. 'I,' said one whom he trusted, 'am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me, shall never die.'

NOT LOST TO GOD.

"Lost to us, but not to his God. Lost from earth, but entered heaven. Lost from these labors and toils and perils, but entered into the everlasting peace and ever advancing progress. Blessed be God who gives us this hope in the hour of our calamity, and enables us to triumph through Him who hath redeemed us

"If there is a personal immortality before him let us also rejoice that there are an immortality and memory in the hearts of a large and ever-growing people, who through the ages to come, the generations that are yet to be, will look back upon this life, upon its nobility and purity and service to humanity, and thank God for it. The years draw on when his name shall be counted among the illustrious of the earth.

"William of Orange is not dead. Cromwell is not dead. Washington lives in the hearts and lives of his countrymen. Lincoln, with his infinite sorrow, lives to teach us and lead us on. And McKinley shall summon all statesmen and all his countrymen to purer living, nobler aims, sweeter and immortal blessedness."

Again the comforting words and music of "Nearer, My God, to Thee," arose. Rev. W. H. Chapman pronounced the benediction. Friends in official life took their last look at the dead face, and then the people came.

The rain fell nearly all the afternoon, but the crowds outside were undiminished. From Baltimore and Annapolis, from Harper's Ferry and Cumberland, from Richmond and even from cities farther away, hundreds and thousands had come.

Only about six thousand an hour were permitted to pass through the doors. This went on for five hours, permitting a total of about thirty thousand to pass. Fully as many more were denied when the doors were closed at six o'clock.

Promptly at six o'clock the naval and military guard took charge of the President's body again. The military escort was re-formed at seven o'clock, and the casket was removed from the capitol to the Pennsylvania railroad station.

A platoon of mounted police cleared the way to the depot, and two troops of cavalry preceded the hearse. No members of the cabinet or representative members of the family were in line, but all officers of the army and navy in the city formed the escort.

Soon after the body of the beloved President was placed in the observation car, members of the cabinet and friends of the family began to arrive. It was almost eight o'clock before Mrs. McKinley left the White House. Her carriage, surrounded by mounted police and followed by the immediate mourners, was driven to the lower end of the station to escape the crowd. Fifteen carriages were required to bring the mourners from the White House.

THE JOURNEY TO CANTON.

Leaving Washington, the long, winding train bearing the remains of the martyred President plunged out into the dark night and began its mournful journey.

The curtains of the train were drawn as it pulled out of the station, save only for the observation car, in which the casket lay, guarded by a soldier and a sailor of the republic. That car alone was flooded with light. The countless thousands extending from the station far out into the suburbs of the national capital, waited patiently in the drenching rain to pay their last farewell, thus had an opportunity to catch a last fleeting glimpse of the flag-covered casket as it sped by. Several thousand people on the bridge over the eastern branch of the Potomac, straining for a last look, could be seen by the lights strung along the bridge as the train moved under it.

As the little villages between Washington and Baltimore were passed, the sound of tolling bells came faintly to the heavy-hearted mourners aboard. The lighted death chamber in the rear car was an impressive spectacle; the bier in full view, the soldier with bayoneted gun held at salute and the jack tar, with cutlass drawn, on guard. The light from the car streamed out into the darkness for many a mile.

As the train came out of the long tunnel leading to Baltimore, before reaching Union station, thousands of silent forms could be seen and the dismal tolling of bells could be heard. A clear bugle call sounded a requiem. Hundreds of people had gained access to the train shed, and they gazed sorrowfully at the casket while the locomotives were being shifted. The train, which had arrived at 9:34 p. m., pulled out for the west a few minutes later.

Canton was ready for the last home-coming of William McKinley. In other days she welcomed him with cheers, waving banners and triumphal marches. Now she was to receive him in sorrow, the streets hung in black and resounding with the wailing notes of a dirge.

At eleven o'clock on the morning of September 18 the chief came home—for the last time. His body was borne at noon through streets black with crape and through lanes of sorrow-stricken people, who made no effort to hide their tears. The whole city seemed to be a house of the dead.

There was but one moment when the silence was broken. It was when the funeral column crept up the street to the beat of the muffled drums. Softly came the strains, once again, of "Nearer, My God, to Thee." The thousands of men and women, standing like statues, took up the refrain in tear-broken whispers:

"Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee;
E'en though it be a cross,
That raiseth me."

It was a home-coming that kings might look for when their earthly stars set, and look for in vain.

Out and beyond the muffled drums, the solemn strains of music and love for the dead, every heart went to the lone woman who had been taken from the funeral train, her strength almost gone, and hurried on ahead to the old home.

All the afternoon upon a shrouded catafalque in a corridor of the courthouse lay the body of the chief. For more than seven hours a stream of men, women and children passed the bier. They stepped softly lest their footfalls wake their friend, and tears, unbidden, came to eyes that looked down upon those that were closed in death.

When the doors were finally closed, there was a long line of people still waiting, whose wishes had to be denied.

In accordance with Mrs. McKinley's request, the casket was removed to the house on Market street, where they had spent so many happy hours together, and where the news of his election had first come.

During the morning, at her urgent request, she sat alone for a time beside the casket as it lay in the south parlor of the house. No one sought to lift the veil. The casket was not opened. But she was near the one who had ever cared for her and protected her; near the dead for whom grief had burned into the soul of a country the lessons of manliness and beneficence taught by his life.

The last ceremonies were marked with a dignity and impressiveness that struck dumb the tens of thousands who watched the funeral column make the journey from the home.

From the south parlor of the frame house which had been his home

for so long, the chief was borne to the First Methodist Church, with statesmen, diplomats and representatives of the great nations of the world gathered with the sorrowing members of the family. Ministers of five religious denominations said the simple services.

Troops banked the streets about, but the thousands who had crowded near and stood for five hours, held their places, catching up the broken strains of "Nearer, My God, to Thee."

The silence of calm had come; the silence of supreme excitement had passed.

The minister was all but hidden by the mountain of flowers banked upon the pulpit and in the chancel.

"It was not at him that the fatal shot was fired," he said, "but at the very heart of our government."

These words brought home with crushing force the warning that the last scenes were passing. Among those who sat with bowed heads was President Roosevelt. The tears came into his eyes as he heard the petitions that God might guide his hands aright.

REV. DR. C. E. MANCHESTER'S SERMON.

Dr. C. E. Manchester, minister of the church in which the last rites were said at Canton, delivered the address. He had known William McKinley as a friend and as a strong man in the life of the church. His address brought the tears, for about him were men who had known this great, gentle man in some way.

Dr. Manchester's sermon was as follows:

"Our President is dead.

" 'The silver cord is loosed, the golden bowl is broken, the pitcher is broken at the fountain, the wheel broken at the cistern, the mourners go about the streets.'

" 'One voice is heard—a wail of sorrow from all the land, for the beauty of Israel is slain upon the high places. How are the mighty fallen! I am distressed for thee, my brother. Very pleasant hast thou been unto me.'

"Our President is dead. We can hardly believe it. We had hoped and prayed, and it seemed that our hopes were to be realized and our prayers answered, when the emotion of joy was changed to one of grave apprehension. Still we waited, for we said: 'It may be that God will be gracious and merciful to us.' It seemed to us that it must be his will to spare the life of one so well beloved and so much needed.

"Thus, alternating between hope and fear, the weary hours passed

on. Then came the tidings of a defeated science, of the failure of love and prayer to hold its object to the earth. We seemed to hear the faintly muttered words: 'Good-by all; good-by. It's God's way. His will be done.' And then, 'Nearer, my God, to Thee.'

PASSES ON TO BE AT REST.

"So, nestling near to his God, he passed out into unconsciousness, skirted the dark shores of the sea of death for a time, and then passed on to be at rest. His great heart had ceased to beat.

"Our hearts are heavy with sorrow.

" 'A voice is heard on earth of kinfolk weeping
The loss of one they love;
But he has gone where the redeemed are keeping
A festival above.

"The mourners throng the ways and from the steeple
The funeral bells toll slow;
But on the golden streets the holy people
Are passing to and fro.

"And saying as they meet: 'Rejoice, another,
Long waited for, is come.
The Savior's heart is glad; a younger brother
Has reached the Father's home.'

"The cause of this universal mourning is to be found in the man himself. The inspired penman's picture of Jonathan, likening him unto the "Beauty of Israel,' could not be more appropriately employed than in chanting the lament of our fallen chieftain. It does no violence to human speech, nor is it fulsome eulogy to speak thus of him, for who that has seen his stately bearing, his grace and manliness of demeanor, his kindliness of aspect but gives assent to this description of him?

LOVED BY ALL WHO KNEW HIM.

"It was characteristic of our beloved President that men met him only to love him. They might, indeed, differ from him, but in the presence of such dignity of character and grace of manner none could fail to love the man. The people confided in him, believed in him. It was said of Lincoln that probably no man since the days of Washington was ever so deeply embedded and enshrined in the hearts of the people, but it is true of McKinley in a larger sense. Industrial and social conditions

are such that he was, even more than his predecessors, the friend of the whole people.

"A touching scene was enacted in this church last Sunday night. The services had closed. The worshipers were gone to their homes. Only a few lingered to discuss the sad event that brings us together today. Three men of a foreign race and unfamiliar tongue, and clad in working garb, entered the room. They approached the altar, kneeling before it and before the dead man's picture. Their lips moved as if in prayer, while tears furrowed their cheeks. They may have been thinking of their own King Humbert and of his untimely death. Their emotion was eloquent, eloquent beyond speech, and it bore testimony to their appreciation of manly friendship and of honest worth.

SOUL CLEAN AND HANDS UNSULLIED.

"It is a glorious thing to be able to say in this presence, with our illustrious dead before us, that he never betrayed the confidence of his countrymen. Not for personal gain or pre-eminence would he mar the beauty of his soul. He kept it clean and white before God and man, and his hands were unsullied by bribes.

" 'His eyes looked right on, and his eyelids looked straight before him. He was sincere, plain and honest, just, benevolent and kind. He never disappointed those who believed in him, but measured up to every duty and met every responsibility in life grandly and unflinchingly.

"Not only was our President brave, heroic and honest; he was as gallant a knight as ever rode the lists for his lady love in the days when knighthood was in flower. It is but a few weeks since the nation looked on with tear-dimmed eyes as it saw with what tender conjugal devotion he sat at the bedside of his beloved wife, when all feared that a fatal illness was upon her. No public clamor that he might show himself to the populace, no demand of a social function was sufficient to draw the lover from the bedside of his wife. He watched and waited while we all prayed—and she lived.

TENDER STORY OF HIS LOVE.

"This sweet and tender story all the world knows, and the world knows that his whole life had run in this one groove of love. It was a strong arm that she leaned upon, and it never failed her. Her smile was more to him than the plaudits of the multitude, and for her greeting his acknowledgments of them must wait. After receiving the fatal wound his first thought was that the terrible news might be broken gently to her. May God in this deep hour of sorrow comfort her. May His grace be greater than her anguish. May the widow's God be her God.

"Another beauty in the character of our President, that was a chaplet of grace about his neck, was that he was a Christian. In the broadest, noblest sense of the word that was true. His confidence in God was strong and unwavering. It held him steady in many a storm where others were driven before the wind and tossed. He believed in the fatherhood of God and in his sovereignty. His faith in the gospel of Christ was deep and abiding. He had no patience with any other theme of pulpit discourse. 'Christ and him crucified' was in his mind the only panacea for the world's disorders. He believed it to be the supreme duty of the Christian minister to preach the word. He said: 'We do not look for great business men in the pulpit, but for great preachers.'

EVER A TRUE CHRISTIAN.

"It is well known that his godly mother had hoped for him that he would become a minister of the gospel, and that she believed it to be the highest vocation in life. It was not, however, his mother's faith that made him a Christian. He had gained in early life a personal knowledge of Jesus which guided him in the performance of greater duties and vaster than have been the lot of any other American President. He said at one time, while bearing heavy burdens, that he could not discharge the daily duties of his life but for the fact that he had faith in God.

"William McKinley believed in prayer: in the beauty of it, in the potency of it. Its language was not unfamiliar to him, and his public addresses not infrequently evince the fact. It was perfectly consistent with his life-long convictions and his personal experiences that he should say at the first critical moment after the assassination approached: 'Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done,' and that he should declare at the last: 'It is God's way; His will be done.' He lived grandly; it was fitting that he should die grandly. And now that the majesty of death has touched and calmed him we find that in his supreme moment he was still a conqueror.

CRIME PLUNGES WORLD INTO GRIEF.

"My friends and countrymen, with what language shall I attempt to give expression to the deep horror of our souls as I speak of the cause of his death? When we consider the magnitude of the crime that has plunged the country and the world into unutterable grief we are not surprised that one nationality after another has hastened to repudiate the dreadful act. This gentle spirit, who hated no one, to whom every man was a brother, was suddenly smitten by the cruel hand of an assassin, and that, too, while in the act of extending a kind and generous greeting to one who approached him under the sacred guise of friendship.

"Could the assailant have realized how awful was the act he was

about to perform, how utterly heartless the deed, methinks he would have staid his hand at the threshold of it. In all the coming years men will seek in vain to fathom the enormity of that crime.

"Had this man who fell been a despot, a tyrant, an oppressor, an insane frenzy to rid the world of him might have sought excuse; but it was the people's friend who fell when William McKinley received the fatal wound. Himself a son of toil, his sympathies were with the toiler. No one who has seen the matchless grace and perfect ease with which he greeted such can ever doubt that his heart was in his open hand. Every heart throb was for his countrymen. That his life should be sacrificed at such a time, just when there was abundant peace, when all the Americas were rejoicing together, is one of the inscrutable mysteries of Providence. Like many others, it must be left for future revelations to explain.

LIVES TO SEE A UNITED NATION.

"In the midst of our sorrow we have much to console us. He lived to see his nation greater than ever before. All sectional lines are blotted out. There is no South, no North, no East, no West. Washington saw the beginning of our national life.

"Lincoln passed through the night of our history and saw the dawn. McKinley beheld his country in the splendor of its noon. Truly, he dies in the fullness of his fame. With Paul he could say, and with equal truthfulness, 'I am now ready to be offered.'

"The work assigned him had been well done. The nation was at peace. We had fairly entered upon an era of unparalleled prosperity. Our revenues were generous. Our standing among the nations was secure. Our President was safely enshrined in the affections of a united people. It was not at him that the fatal shot was fired, but at the life of the government. His offering was vicarious. It was blood poured upon the altar of human liberty. In view of these things we are not surprised to hear, from one who was present when this great soul passed away, that he never before saw a death so peaceful, or a dying man so crowned with grandeur.

LESSONS FROM THE SAD EVENT.

"Let us turn now to a brief consideration of some of the lessons that we are to learn from this sad event.

"The first one that will occur to us all is the old, old lesson that 'in the midst of life we are in death.' 'Man goeth forth to his work and to his labor until the evening.' 'He fleeth as it were a shadow and never continueth in one stay.'

"Our President went forth in the fullness of his strength, in his manly

beauty, and was suddenly smitten by the hand that brought death with it. None of us can tell what a day may bring forth. Let us, therefore, remember that 'No man liveth to himself and none of us dieth to himself.' May each day's close see each day's duty done.

"Another great lesson that we should heed is the vanity of mere earthly greatness. In the presence of the dread messenger, how small are all the trappings of wealth and distinctions of rank and power. I beseech you, seek Him who said: 'I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die.'

"There is but one Savior for the sin-sick and the weary. I entreat you, find him, as our brother found him.

"But our last words must be spoken. Little more than four years ago we bade him good-bye as he went to assume the great responsibilities to which the nation had called him. His last words as he left us were: 'Nothing could give me greater pleasure than this farewell greeting—this evidence of your friendship and sympathy, your good will, and, I am sure, the prayers of all the people with whom I have lived so long and whose confidence and esteem are dearer to me than any other earthly honors. To all of us the future is as a sealed book, but if I can, by official act or administration or utterance, in any degree add to the prosperity and unity of our beloved country and the advancement and well-being of our splendid citizenship, I will devote the best and most unselfish efforts of my life to that end. With this thought uppermost in my mind, I reluctantly take leave of my friends and neighbors, cherishing in my heart the sweetest memories and thoughts of my old home—my home now—and, trust, my home hereafter, so long as I live."

"We hoped with him that when his work was done, freed from the burdens of his great office, crowned with the affections of a happy people, he might be permitted to close his earthly life in the home he had loved.

SADNESS OF THE HOME-COMING.

"He has, indeed, returned to us, but how? Borne to the strains of 'Nearer, My God, to Thee,' and placed where he first began life's struggle, that the people might look and weep over so sad a home-coming.

"But it was a triumphal march. How vast the procession! The nation rose and stood with uncovered head. The people of the land are chief mourners. The nations of the earth weep with them. But, Oh, what a victory! I do not ask you in the heat of public address, but in the calm moments of mature reflection, what other man ever had such high honors bestowed upon him, and by so many people? What pageant has equaled this that we look upon tonight? We gave him to the nation only a little more than four years ago. He went out with the light of the

morning upon his brow, but with task set, and the purpose to complete it. We take him back a mighty conqueror.

" 'The church yard where his children rest,
The quiet spot that suits him best;
There shall his grave be made,
And there his bones be laid.
And there his countrymen shall come,
With memory proud, with pity dumb.
And strangers far and near,
For many and many a year;
For many a year and many an age,
While history on her simple page
The virtues shall enroll
Of that paternal soul.' "

As Dr. Manchester concluded, 'We seem to hear the faintly murmured words, 'Good-bye. It is God's way; His will, not ours, be done.' " Without the church soldiers were standing straight as statues. Thousands of men stood in the line of procession waiting. It was this same idea which held them.

At the request of Mrs. McKinley the Rev. Father Vattman, chaplain at Fort Sheridan, Chicago, made the closing prayer, which was both beautiful and touching.

Then came the last stage of the journey—to the City of the Dead. Members of the United States senate, those who sit in the house of representatives, officials and citizens from every state in the union, soldiers, military organizations—a column of more than six thousand men followed the funeral car on its last journey.

The skies were hidden by clouds of gray, but not a drop of rain fell. The path of flagging leading to the iron-gated vault was buried beneath flowers. The men of the war of forty years before passed up this road before the funeral car approached, catching up the flowers as they passed. Just ahead of the hearse came the handful of survivors from the President's own regiment, blind with tears. They, too, gathered up the flowers as they passed by.

Just without the entrance of the vault stood the new President of the United States. The casket rested on supports close to him. The members of the cabinet formed an open line with him and members of the family—all save the stricken woman, who was in the home under Dr. Rixey's close care.

As the casket was borne to the entrance of the vault there was not a member of the cabinet who was not visibly affected, while several were in tears, with their handkerchiefs to their eyes. Secretary Root, though controliing himself to some degree of outward calm, was deeply moved, and President Roosevelt repeatedly wiped away the tears.

Among the bystanders very few made any effort to conceal their emotion. It was a scene, under the cheerless gray skies and the bleak wind, as cold as the November days, that even all the glory of the flowers could not relieve—the picture of all of sorrow and desolation that death leaves in its wake. As the one on whom the terrible blow fell hardest was not there, the last agony was spared her.

From the lips of the venerable Bishop Joyce came the benediction—"Dust to dust, earth to earth, ashes to ashes."

The roar of the cannon echoed from the hilltop just above. It came as a mighty amen.

Again the white-haired minister spoke. Once again came the cannon crash, its reverberations beating against the hills about the city, while the troops stood with gleaming bayonets at salute to the dead.

Then came "taps"—the saddest call the bugle knows, sounded by eight silver bugles. The last notes were held until the breath of the wind seemed to rob them of life.

Away down the street, two miles away, the marching columns were still coming. The music of the bands, muted, it seemed, by some giant hand, came floating to the group about the vault—"Nearer, My God, to Thee."

Once again came the thunder from the guns above.

Then the casket was carried into the vault. Five infantrymen marched behind it. A moment passed, then the outer doors were closed.

The last ceremony was over; the third martyred President of the United States had been committed to God and eternity.

Slowly the marching column came about the crescent road to the left of the temporary tomb. Then darkness threw its veil over all, the silent guards took their stations, and the cemetery gates were closed.

During the five minutes between two-thirty and two thirty-five, while the body of the chief was being borne from the church to the hearse, traffic was stopped all over the United States. Not a wheel was turned upon the great railroad systems, not a wire flashed a message, not a telephone bell rang. Surely no greater tribute than this was ever paid to man. There was no sound, save when, from full hearts, came the soft whisper, broken by sobs: "Nearer, My God, to Thee."

Out under the whispering oak trees of Westlawn Cemetery, in a vine-covered vault which is almost buried in a sloping hillside, guarded,

day and night, by soldiers of the republic, the body of the martyred chief lies at rest.

But if, out of the common sorrow, may come a greater love of country, and if the red peril can be wiped from the face of the earth, William McKinley will not have lived—nor died—in vain.

THE PRESIDENT'S SURGEONS.

The highest medical authorities concur in the opinion that all that surgery could do for the distinguished sufferer was done by his medical attendants. The New York *Medical Journal* says:

"It is a melancholy consolation to know that the fatal termination of President McKinley's case was not in the slightest degree due to any omission to give him the full benefit of all the present resources of our art, and there is nothing humiliating in the fact that the favorable prognosis which for five or six days seemed justified should have finally proven fallacious. * * * It is perfectly certain that there was no technical fault in the operation, and it may be said with equal positiveness that it would have verged on madness to prolong the search for the bullet after it had been ascertained that it had not inflicted any very grave injury beyond that of the stomach—ascertained, that is to say, within the limitations of warrantable efforts."

Sir James Crichton Browne, the eminent English surgeon, said at a gathering of prominent medical men in London, September 28, he was confident he was expressing the unanimous opinion of the British medical profession when he declared that the surgeons who attended the late President of the United States showed the utmost skill at every stage. A power more than human would have been required to save the life of the nation's wounded chief.

CHAPTER III.

Expressive Tributes From Foreign Lands.

Morning had scarcely dawned for the night watchers keeping the last vigil beside the coffin of the murdered President, 4,000 miles away, when Londoners were already assembled by the thousands around Westminster Abbey to attend the memorial services of America's dead President.

The venerable palace of the dead was all too small to contain half of those seeking admission. Every ticket printed had been bespoken a dozen times over. At the American embassy over night, up to an hour before noon, applicants still clamored for the coveted pasteboards, many striving even to accompany the officials from the embassy toward the abbey in hope of being admitted among the crowd.

Around the doors, where tickets were not needed, a throng gathered two hours before the doors opened sufficient to fill the entire abbey. All were in deep mourning. Indeed the outburst of black clothing surpassed anything seen here excepting only on the death of Queen Victoria.

CHURCH FILLS RAPIDLY.

The solemn passing bell of Westminster tower still had half an hour to toll before the service began, when the stream of notable persons who were admitted through the dean's yard slowly filed to their places in the choir. One of the first to arrive was former Vice President Levi P. Morton, accompanied by his wife and family. They were quickly followed by Lord Pauncefote and his family.

Sir William Colville, royal master of ceremonies, found the chancel half filled before he could take up the duties he voluntarily assumed of marshaling people into their places. Mr. Synge, C. M. G. B., assistant marshal of ceremonies, who also volunteered to assist the embassy officials, acted for the nonce as usher in conducting distinguished arrivals to their places.

The lord steward of the household, Lord Pembroke, represented the king. Next to him sat the United States ambassador, Mr. Choate; Secretary White and other members of the embassy. Colonel Alfred M. Egerton, equerry of the Duke of Connaut, represented the Duke and Duchess of Connaut; Major James E. Martin, equerry of Prince Christian, represented the Prince and Princess Christian of Schleswig-Hol-

stein. The secretary for war, William St. John Brodrick, and the undersecretary of the foreign office, Lord Cranborne, were present, and the other cabinet ministers were represented.

ALL LANDS REPRESENTED.

The British ambassador to the United States, Lord Pauncefote; the Russian ambassador to Great Britain, M. de Stael; the Danish minister, M. de Bille, and the Turkish ambassador, Costaki Anthopulo Pasha, were also present, with members of all the legations, including the consul general of Monaco, Lord Rosebery; the lord chief justice, Baron Alverstone; Baron Revelstoke, Baron Mount Stephen, Sir William and Lady Vernon Harcourt and the agents general of twenty British colonies were there.

The boom of the abbey bell announcing midday was faintly audible within the abbey as the organ broke the hushed silence with the funeral march by Tschaikowsky, which merged later into Chopin's more familiar dirge.

Away in the distant nave were heard the voices of the famous abbey choir chanting in sad minor, "I am the resurrection and the life," the vast congregation rising as the strains floated upward and rose and fell in mournful harmony, filling the lofty edifice to the uttermost crevices of the distant roof and anon falling gently as autumn rain on the ears of the somber-clad listeners.

Slowly, silently, the procession of surpliced choristers moved nearer up the nave and under the oaken screen dividing the choir from the body of the cathedral.

GRIEF IN THE REFRAIN.

The voices of the singers grew more distinct with every step until the words of the refrain, "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away," struck a responsive sigh in every heart. As the singers filled each side of the choir stalls the clergy, escorted by vergers with crape-covered staves, proceeded into the sanctuary itself.

The venerable dean of Westminster Abbey had taken his place in the chancel, surrounded by the clergy, when the congregation, standing, prepared themselves to pour forth their feelings in "Nearer, My God, to Thee," which henceforth will forever be associated with President McKinley's dying moments.

But here occurred the only jar in the solemn service. A great portion of the congregation, being Americans, naturally expected the old familiar chant, which is regarded almost as America's national anthem. Instead of this, however, the organist played the English version, by

Rev. J. B. Dykes, a tune quite foreign to American ears. For a few moments the effect was most painful alike to those wishing to sing as to others who were merely listeners.

GAVE WAY TO TEARS.

After trying weakly to join in unison with the choir, giving to the time-worn words the unfamiliar sounds, the greater portion of the congregation abandoned the attempt, while many unbidden tears were shed and bespoke the helpless sorrow of those to whom the relief of song was denied.

Sullivan's exquisite anthem, "Yea, Though I Walk From the Light of the World," rendered by the choir, went far to soothe the mourners for the absence of congregational singing, while the spectacle of the venerable dean reading the lesson—a gray-haired old man whose feeble voice was barely audible within a short radius of the chancel rail—recalled the last occasion when he had officiated at a funeral service there, namely when Mr. Gladstone was laid to rest among the historic dead within the abbey.

But by far the most impressive moment of the service was the short pause for silent prayer in behalf of the widow and family of the late President.

SOLEMN HUSH OVER ALL.

As the great organ's note, like a deep sigh, faded into solemn silence, the last jarring clang of the chimes outdoors momentarily punctured the stillness as though for a record of passing time. Then a hush fell upon the densely thronged church and for fully five minutes every head was bowed in silent prayer—hushed and silent as the unnumbered dead who sleep beneath the abbey stones.

It was an awful, soul-inspiring moment. One could not help recalling the scene five years ago, at St. Louis, when at the mention of the name of McKinley 10,000 men had cheered like half-demented savages for half an hour by the clock.

Some of those present on that occasion were even now kneeling with bowed heads, their subdued attitude beneath the abbey's towering roof being more expressive of genuine feeling than the wildest cheers and frantic flag-waving in that memorable yellow pine board convention hall.

Faintly, as if apologizing for disturbing the eternal commune between the living and the dead, the organ broke the silence, while the choir almost imperceptibly added their voices to the refrain, "I Heard a Voice From Heaven."

OFFICE FOR THE DEAD.

For the remainder of the service the sacrist recited the prayers, the choir organ again sang an anthem, the dean pronounced the benediction and the congregation stood while the dead march in "Saul" was played. But during all this and as the choir and clergy slowly filed out the memory of that impressive pause lingered.

Even when Mr. Choate, standing beneath the screen at the end of the nave, received the silent greetings of the distinguished mourners, their mute salutation was but a repetition of the greeting to the illustrious dead during that awful pause.

A similar service was held at St. Paul's Cathedral in the afternoon, attended by 6,000 persons.

SORROW OF THE PRESS.

The London morning papers again appeared with black borders and long accounts of the ceremonies in Canton and of memorial services and tributes throughout the world. The editorials generally comment upon the widespread sympathy evoked. "Seldom, if ever," says the Standard, "has a common sorrow found expression in so many lands."

The Daily News finds "this spontaneous manifestation of mourning" deeply suggestive and impressive, being paralleled only at the death of Victoria.

Several London theaters were closed September 19. Those remaining open witnessed some remarkable demonstrations. The programmes began with the dead march in "Saul," the audiences standing. At the leading variety houses the "Star Spangled Banner" was also played, and was received with ringing cheers and shouts of "Down with anarchists." At a concert in Queen's Hall Sir Arthur Sullivan's "In Memoriam" overture and Tchaikowsky's "Pathetique Symphonie" were played in memory of Mr. McKinley.

All the American business houses in London were closed, and the managers and employes attended the memorial services at various churches. On many English houses the shades were half drawn and flags, draped in crape, were at half-mast.

At the request of members of the stock exchange and other business men in the city, a memorial service was held in the Church of St. Lawrence Jewry. The church was crowded.

Mr. Choate, the American ambassador, sent the following telegram to King Edward at Fredensborg:

"Your majesty's telegram of the 14th has deeply affected Mrs. McKinley in this hour of her sore affliction, and I am charged to convey

JOHN HAY
Secretary of State

to your majesty, in her name, her grateful acknowledgment and thanks for your sympathy, which was so thoughtfully bestowed."

"The following was received from the King at the embassay:

"Please convey to Mrs. McKinley my best thanks for her kind message. The Queen and I feel most deeply for her in the hour of her great affliction, and pray that God may give her strength to bear her heavy cross. Our thoughts will today be especially with the American nation when its distinguished President is laid at rest. EDWARD R."

Queen Alexandra has written an autograph letter of sympathy and condolence to Mrs. McKinley.

SERVICE IN BIRMINGHAM.

Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain attended the memorial service in Birmingham. There was also a big demonstration in that city in connection with the Wesleyan conference, when resolutions of sympathy and condolence were adopted after the crime of Czolgosz had been characterized in terms of deepest abhorrence.

Lord Lansdowne, the foreign secretary, intimates through the press his regret that illness prevented him from attending the memorial service in Westminster Abbey.

Mr. Choate, in his letter of apology for absence from the King Alfred millenary commemoration at Winchester, due to the death of President McKinley, says: "The sympathy expressed in a perfect avalanche of telegrams from all parts of the British dominion, is most touching."

T. P. O'CONNOR, IN A LONDON SOCIETY PAPER, RECALLS HIS PLEASANT IMPRESSIONS OF THE LATE PRESIDENT.

Mr. O'Connor paid eloquent tribute to the character, abilities and simplicity of the dead President, concluding as follows:

"The career of McKinley was typically American. It is, indeed, Americanism at its best. Even the murmured words of the church hymn which were among the last things uttered by the dying lips—even that is typically American, too.

"Amid all the riot, blare and deafening noise of a country bursting with the abounding vitality and defiant strength of its gigantic youth, America is in its foundation a country of tranquil, sober, God-fearing homes. Every individual American mourns in simple William McKinley the sweetness, wholesomeness and faithful affection and enduring fidelity of the typical American citizen—the true American man and husband, the true American wife and the typical American home."

REDMOND EXPRESSES SORROW FOR IRELAND.

John Redmond, the Irish leader, cabled to Theodore Roosevelt: "In the name of the Irish nationalist party I send an expression of deepest sympathy. Ireland abhors the dastardly crime."

THE LONDON TIMES.

This great newspaper has given an account of the assassination in an article of forty thousand words. It says:

"The king has commanded that the court shall wear mourning for one week for the late President of the United States."

Referring to the death of Queen Victoria the Times continues:

"In our grief the hearts of our American kin were with us, and we tenderly cherish the memories of the alleviation which our knowledge that it was so brought us in our woe. Today it is they who are stricken, and, from one end of the empire to the other, the subjects of the King of England extend to our brethren the sympathy they so loyally, so generously and so earnestly extended to us. The British people share to the full the thoughts and sentiments expressed with touching dignity in the proclamation in which President Roosevelt appoints the day when the body of his predecessor is committed to the grave shall be kept as a day of solemn mourning and prayer throughout the republic.

CHURCH BELLS TOLLED IN CANADIAN CITIES.

The proclamation of the Governor General, setting apart September 19 as a day of mourning throughout Canada in recognition of the fact that the obsequies of the late President McKinley were taking place, did not become generally known until the morning of that date. In Ottawa the banking institutions, leading business houses, the government offices and public institutions immediately closed.

A union memorial service was held at noon. Flags on the parliament buildings and on all public buildings and private flagstaffs were half-masted, the American flag being particularly noticeable throughout the city. The signs of mourning were general and sincere, even amid all the excitement of preparations for the reception of royalty.

Throughout the Dominion as in Ottawa the reports indicate a very general observance of the day, in compliance with Lord Minto's proclamation. In some of the Canadian cities bells were tolled at the hour set for the burial, and every public demonstration of mourning was made so far as the suddenness of the proclamation would allow.

DUKE OF YORK SYMPATHETIC.

As a sympathetic tribute to the memory of President McKinley, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York refrained from participa-

tion in public functions, and limited their movements to a round of visits to religious, charitable and educational institutions, including McGill University, where each received the honorary degrees of doctor of laws.

FINE DEMONSTRATION IN CITY OF MEXICO.

The American colony held a memorial service in honor of the late President McKinley at 10 o'clock, September 19, in Orrin's Theater, the largest available building. United States Ambassador Powell Clayton presided. President Diaz and the entire cabinet and diplomatic corps attended. The great building was swathed in black crape and profusely lighted with electricity.

SANTIAGO CITIZENS MOURN IN THE RAIN.

A memorial service was held at 10 o'clock, September 19, at the Oriental Theater in honor of the late President McKinley. The hall is the largest auditorium in the city, and it was packed with people. All the American officers wore full uniform and side arms.

A troop of cavalry from Morro Castle, the civil and municipal officers, the foreign consuls, the judges, students from the state institutions, employes of the sanitary department, the entire American colony and thousands of Cubans of all classes were present, notwithstanding the fact that it was raining heavily.

Hundreds were unable to gain admission and remained outside in the drenching rain throughout the services, which consisted of addresses made by prominent Americans and Mayor Bacardi. The theater was draped inside and out with flags and black cloth. All public and private business was suspended for the day.

PORTO RICO.

Appropriate memorial services were held in every town of Porto Rico. The gathering at the theater in San Juan was very large. The most prominent speakers, representing all parties, delivered addresses of eulogy and sympathy, which were received in mournful silence.

GERMANY.

GERMAN EMPEROR SHOWS GRIEF.

When Emperor William heard of the death of President McKinley he immediately ordered the German fleet to half-mast their flags and to hoist the stars and stripes at their maintops.

Emperor William sent the following dispatch:

"To Mrs. McKinley, Buffalo:

"Her Majesty the Empress and myself beg you to accept the expressions of our most sincere sorrow in the loss which you have suffered by

the death of your beloved husband, felled by the ruthless hand of a murderer. May the Lord who granted you so many years of happiness at the side of the deceased grant you strength to bear the heavy blow with which he has visited you. "WILLIAM, I. R."

Emperor William also sent the following dispatch to Secretary Hay:

"I am deeply affected by the news of the untimely death of President McKinley. I hasten to express the deepest and most heartfelt sympathy of the German people to the great American nation. Germany mourns with America for her noble son, who lost his life while he was fulfilling his duty to his country and people. "WILLIAM, I. R."

Memorial services were held in the American chapel at noon September 19 in honor of the late President McKinley. All the imperial and Prussian cabinet ministers were present, except the imperial chancellor, Count von Buelow, who is absent from Berlin. He was represented by Privy Councillor von Guenther.

All the foreign ambassadors and ministers in Berlin attended the service, and many of the attaches and secretaries of the diplomatic corps were present. Prince Leopold of Solms-Baruth, as the representative of Emperor William, occupied the seat of honor.

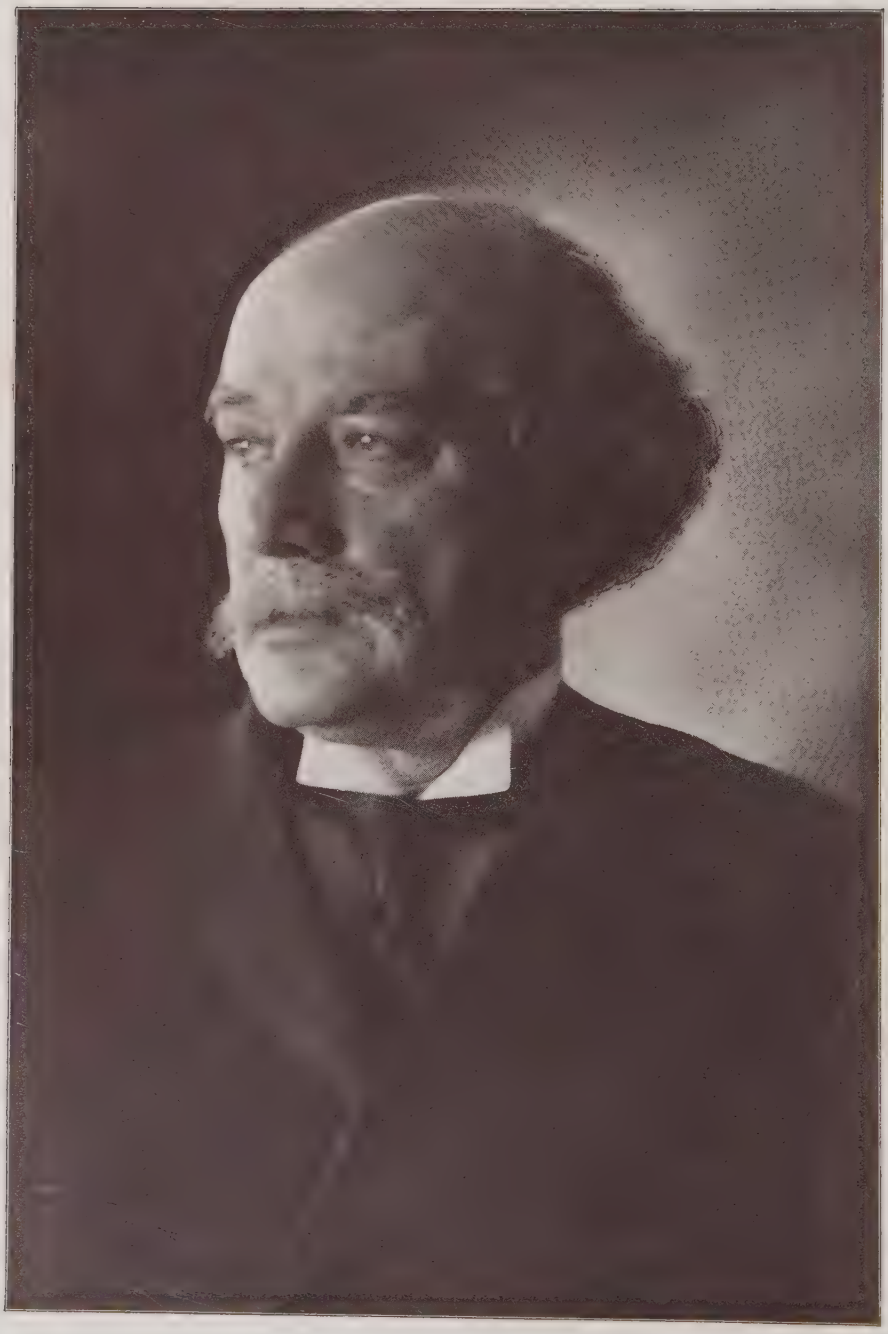
The chapel was decorated with draped American flags and was crowded to its fullest capacity with members of the American colony. Rev. Dr. Rickie preached the memorial sermon.

Memorial services were held in various German cities. Those in Dresden attracted a large attendance of the highest official society and the Anglo-American colony. The King of Saxony and the royal princess were represented by their respective court marshals, and among those present were the members of the Saxon cabinet, representatives of the diplomatic corps and the various consulars, and Mrs. White, wife of the United States ambassador to Germany. Addresses of sympathy were presented by Herr von Metzsch-Reichenbach, Saxon minister of foreign affairs, and by the mayor of Dresden.

At Munich the services were held in the Markuskirche. The prince regent was represented by his chief master of ceremonies, Count von Moy. A number of the members of the cabinet and representatives of the diplomatic corps, together with many British residents, were present. Mme. Nordica sang.

The service at Stuttgart was held in the English church, and was attended by Dr. Von Breitling, the premier, and representatives of all the legations.

At Cologne the Anglo-American colony held a meeting in the English chapel.



ETHAN A. HITCHCOCK
Secretary of the Interior

The executive committee of the Berlin bourse cabled an expression of profound sympathy to the New York Stock Exchange.

PARIS.

National rejoicings in connection with the Czar's visit suffered a brief but impressive interruption in Paris when Americans, English and French of all classes flocked to Holy Trinity Church to take part in the McKinley memorial service. The ceremony was announced for 3 p. m., but long before the appointed hour the church was packed to suffocation, with the result that Ministers Dupuy and Caillaux, who represented the government, together with several prominent members of the diplomatic corps, experienced the utmost difficulty in fighting their way to the seats reserved for them. Others became impatient and left the porch of the church, disgusted at their vain efforts to obtain admittance.

The immediate surroundings of the church were thronged with large crowds unable to obtain admission yet desirous of showing their sympathy by remaining in the vicinity of the building. Inside, the altar, gallery and pulpit were decorated with the usual mourning. The brilliant uniforms of the diplomatic corps alone lent relief to the scene so imposing in its sadness and simplicity. The great majority of the audience was in black. The ladies were attired in deepest mourning.

Rev. M. Morgan officiated. Ambassador Porter, with the entire staff of the United States embassy, the British ambassador and Sir Edmund Monson and his staff were present. Lieutenant Colonel Meaux Saint-Marc represented President Loubet. The singing of the late president's favorite hymns created a deep impression, many ladies being moved to tears. The ceremony lasted three-quarters of an hour and will be remembered as one of the most touching scenes witnessed in a Paris church for many years.

ST. PETERSBURG.

Under the auspices of the United States ambassador, Charlemagne Tower, impressive memorial services in honor of President McKinley were held at 3 o'clock September 19 in the British American Church. The pastor, Rev. Alexander Francis, officiated, assisted by Drs. Kean, Kilburn and Key.

Among those present were the Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovitch, the Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna and the Grand Duke Boris Vladimirovitch, their son, and the Grand Duke Serge Michaelovitch. The diplomatic corps was represented by the British ambassador, Sir Charles Scott, the only ambassador besides Mr. Tower now in St. Petersburg; the ministers to Russia and Orieste Nicholas Vassilieff, formerly of Ansonia,

Conn.; the United States ambassador and his entire staff, the United States consul, Mr. Halloway; the United States vice-consul, Mr. Heydecker, and practically all the resident Americans and many British subjects were also present.

The prominent Russians in attendance included Prince Obolenski, representing the foreign office, and two directors of that office; the Russian minister of the interior, M. Sipyaguin; the assistant minister of the interior, M. Stichiniski; Vice-Admiral Tyrtoff, General Rydzeffsky, General Kleigel, the prefect of police; Prince Jules Ouroussoff and a number of other high officials.

The services consisted of readings from the scriptures and hymns, closing with the playing of a dead march.

RUSSIAN PRESS ON M'KINLEY.

The tone of the Russian press was uniformly sympathetic with the American people in their bereavement and uniformly just in estimating Mr. McKinley's character. The Novo Vremya says:

"He was a man of large talents and a beloved son of the country for whose welfare he unceasingly and successfully labored."

The Sviet says: "Let us hope that the death of a talented and energetic president will rouse those lands which for the sake of freedom of conscience and thought harbor bad elements and become the breeding grounds for plots to action against the enemies of civilization."

The Boerse Gazette says:

"Mr. McKinley was one of the most popular figures in American history and one of the best representatives of American ideals. Society is defenseless against the propaganda of murder. It is scarcely probable that means will be found to prevent the repetition of such crimes."

The semiofficial Journal of Commerce and Industry says:

"Mr. McKinley was not an extreme protectionist. Shortly before his death he spoke out against crude trust protection."

BRUSSELS.

The memorial service in Christ Church this morning was largely attended. A feature was the singing of "Nearer, My God, to Thee." Both the king and queen were represented by high officials.

MOURNING IN VIENNA.

Memorial services were held at the American Church September 19 at the same time as the funeral took place in Canton. The master of the household represented Emperor Francis Joseph. The Prince of Leichenstein, Counted Goluchowski, and the minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Koeber, were in attendance.

AGUINALDO REGRETS LOSS TO THE NATION.

Aguinaldo wrote to Civil Governor Taft and Military Governor Chaffee saying that he regrets, with the rest of the American nation, the great loss suffered by the people of the United States in the death of President McKinley.

SERVICES AT COLON, COLOMBIA.

An impressive memorial service in honor of the late President McKinley was held at the Anglican Church here September 19, and was attended by Commander McCree and the officers and men of the United States gunboat Machias, the United States consul, Mr. Malmros; the Colombian officials, the consular corps, the members of the American colony and many prominent citizens of all nationalities.

SORROW IN COPENHAGEN.

The half-mastings of flags here as a token of sympathy with the United States and respect for the memory of President McKinley was general September 19. The Danish, British and Russian warships in the harbor fired salutes. Portraits of the late president, draped with black, were displayed in many windows.

MOURNING IN INDIA—BOMBAY.

September 19 was observed as a day of general mourning for President McKinley throughout India. All the public offices, banks and stores were closed. Services were held at all the central cities.

EXERCISES AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

The memorial service at the British embassy chapel at Therapia in honor of the late President McKinley was attended by all the chiefs of the diplomatic mission in full uniform, including Sir N. R. O'Conor, the British ambassador, and Lady O'Conor, and John G. A. Leishman, the United States minister, and his staff; United States Consul-General C. M. Dickinson, representatives of the sultan and the Porte, and the papal delegate, Monsignore Bonati.

SALUTES FIRED AT GIBRALTAR.

All the flags were half-masted at noon, September 19, and the channel squadron, the United States training ship Alliance, the German training ship Charlotte and the land batteries fired a salute of twenty-one guns in honor of the late President McKinley. All the ships are flying the American ensign half-mast at the main, and the American ensign is flown half-mast throughout the British fleet.

BERLIN PRAYS FOR MRS. M'KINLEY.

The church at which the services in memory of President McKinley were held September 19 was crowded with Germans and Americans. The kaiser personally, and the government also, were represented by high dignitaries. A special prayer was read for Mrs. McKinley. The church was elaborately decorated with flowers, flags and crape.

EXERCISES AT ROME.

A memorial service for President McKinley was held at the American Methodist Episcopal Church at 3 o'clock.. All the members of the American embassy and consulate were present, as well as the entire Italian cabinet, who were in full dress and were accompanied by under secretaries. All the American residents attended, and there were generals, admirals, representatives in parliament and diplomats in the congregation. Professor Wright delivered the sermon.

SERVICES HELD IN THE LEGATION AT PEKING.

Memorial services in honor of the late President McKinley were held at the United States legation. Among those present were the members of the diplomatic corps and the military officials in full uniform, the members of the American colony, and Prince Ching and other Chinese officials. The Spanish minister, Senor de Cologan, dean of the diplomatic corps, tendered the sympathy of the diplomatists. Minister Conger thanked him in behalf of the American people.

IMPRESSIVE SERVICES IN THE PHILIPPINES.

There were impressive civil, military and naval observances in honor of the late President McKinley. The mourning was universal. Most of the business houses were closed.

After a service at the palace, the military escorted the civil officials to the Luneta, where all the available troops, sailors and marines were assembled, and paid honors to the late President in the presence of thousands of spectators. The fleet at Cavite saluted.

Chief Justice Arellano in an address said all the Filipinos abhorred the crime, and that the death of the great and good President would cement the friendship of Americans and Filipinos. Priests in many parts of the archipelago conducted services in honor of the dead. The churches were crowded.

VENEZUELA SHOCKED BY THE BELATED NEWS.

Owing to the interruption of cable communication, the news of the death of President McKinley was delayed in reaching here

Senor Blanco, the minister of foreign affairs, at once communicated his regrets to Minister Bowen, and all the foreign ministers at Caracas called officially and expressed their sympathy and regrets.

President Castro wrote a letter to Mr. Bowen, saying that Venezuela is mourning the late President and expressing horror at the deed. The President also ordered three days' mourning, with half-masted flags, and begged Mr. Bowen to convey his regrets to Washington, which was done.

Caracas was shocked by the news of the President's death, the latest reports received here pointing to Mr. McKinley's recovery.

CHAPTER IV.

Tributes from Eminent Americans. Homage of a Great City.

CLEVELAND LAUDS LATE PRESIDENT.

All formal exercises at Princeton University were suspended on September 19, and at 11 o'clock memorial exercises were held in Alexander Hall. The faculty and board of trustees attended the exercises in their gowns without their hoods. The big hall was filled with students and visitors, as the faculty, led by former President Cleveland and President Patton, slowly filed up the aisle to the rostrum. President Patton opened the exercises with prayer, read the forty-sixth psalm, made a few remarks eulogizing the late President, and introduced Mr. Cleveland, who was visibly affected, and, with tears in his eyes, eulogized the dead President. Mr. Cleveland said, in part:

"Today the grave closes over the man that had been chosen by the people of the United States to represent their sovereignty, to protect and defend their constitution, to faithfully execute the laws made for their welfare, and to safely uphold the integrity of the republic.

"He passes from the public sight not bearing the wreaths and garlands of his countrymen's approving acclaim, but amid the sobs and tears of a mourning nation. The whole nation loved their President. His kindly disposition and affectionate traits, his amiable consideration for all around him, will long be in the hearts of his countrymen. He loved them in return with such patriotism and unselfishness that in this hour of their grief and humiliation he would say to them: 'It is God's will; I am content. If there is a lesson in my life or death, let it be taught to those who still live and have the destiny of their country in their keeping.'

NOT DUE TO EDUCATION.

"First in my thoughts are the lessons to be learned from the career of William McKinley by the young men who make up the students today of our university. They are not obscure or difficult. The man who is universally mourned today was not deficient in education, but with all you will have of his grand career and his services to his country, you will not hear that what he accomplished was due entirely to his education. He

was an obedient and affectionate son, patriotic and faithful as a soldier, honest and upright as a citizen, tender and devoted as a husband, and truthful, generous, unselfish, moral and clean in every relation of life.

"He never thought any of those things too weak for his manliness. Make no mistake. Here was a most distinguished man—a great man, a useful man—who became distinguished, great and useful because he had, and retained unimpaired, qualities of heart which I fear university students sometimes feel like keeping in the background or abandoning.

"There is a most serious lesson for all of us in the tragedy of our late President's death. If we are to escape further attacks upon our peace and security we must boldly and resolutely grapple with the monster of anarchy. It is not a thing that we can safely leave to be dealt with by party or partisanship. Nothing can guarantee us against its menace except the teaching and the practice of the best citizenship, the exposure of the ends and aims of the gospel of discontent and hatred of social order, and the brave enactment and execution of repressive laws.

"The universities and colleges cannot refuse to join in the battle against the tendencies of anarchy. Their help in discovering and warring against the relationship between the vicious councils and deeds of blood and their steadying influence upon the elements of unrest cannot fail to be of inestimable value. By the memory of our martyred President, let us resolve to cultivate and preserve the qualities that made him great and useful, and let us determine to meet the call of patriotic duty in every time of our country's danger or need."

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

"The horrible deed at Buffalo, rudely breaking the ties of family and friendship and horrifying every patriotic citizen, crowns a most extraordinary life with a halo that cannot but exalt its victim's place in history, while his bravery during the trying ordeal, his forgiving spirit and his fortitude in the final hours give glimpses of his inner life which nothing less tragic could have revealed.

"But in expressing, sad as it is, the death of McKinley, the illustrious citizen, it is the damnable murder of McKinley, the President, that melts seventy-five million hearts into one and brings a hush to the farm, the factory and the forum.

"Death is the inevitable incident of every human career. It despises the sword and shield of the warrior and laughs at the precautions suggested by science. Wealth cannot build walls high enough or thick enough to shut it out, and no house is humble enough to escape its visitation. Even love, the most potent force known to man; love, the characteristic which links the human to the divine, even love is powerless

in its presence. Its contingency is recognized in the marriage vow, 'Until death do us part,' and is written upon friendship's ring.

"But the death, even when produced by natural causes, of a public servant charged with the tremendous responsibilities which press upon a President, shocks the entire country and is infinitely multiplied when the circumstances attending constitute an attack upon the government itself.

"No one can estimate the far-reaching effect of such an act as that which now casts a gloom over our land. It shames America in the eyes of the world; it impairs her moral prestige and gives enemies of free government a chance to mock at her, and it excites an indignation which, while righteous in itself, may lead to acts which will partake of the spirit of lawlessness.

"As the President's death overwhelms all in a common sorrow, so it imposes a common responsibility—namely, to so avenge the wrong done to the President, his family and the country as to make the executive life secure without interfering with the freedom of speech or freedom of the press."

Mr. Bryan treated of the parting of husband and wife at Buffalo, saying:

"The dispatches report that Mrs. McKinley took a seat at the bedside and held the President's hand; the distinguished sufferer looked into the face of his good wife and said in a low tone: "We must bear up. It will be better for us both." With tears streaming down her cheeks, Mrs. McKinley nodded assent.

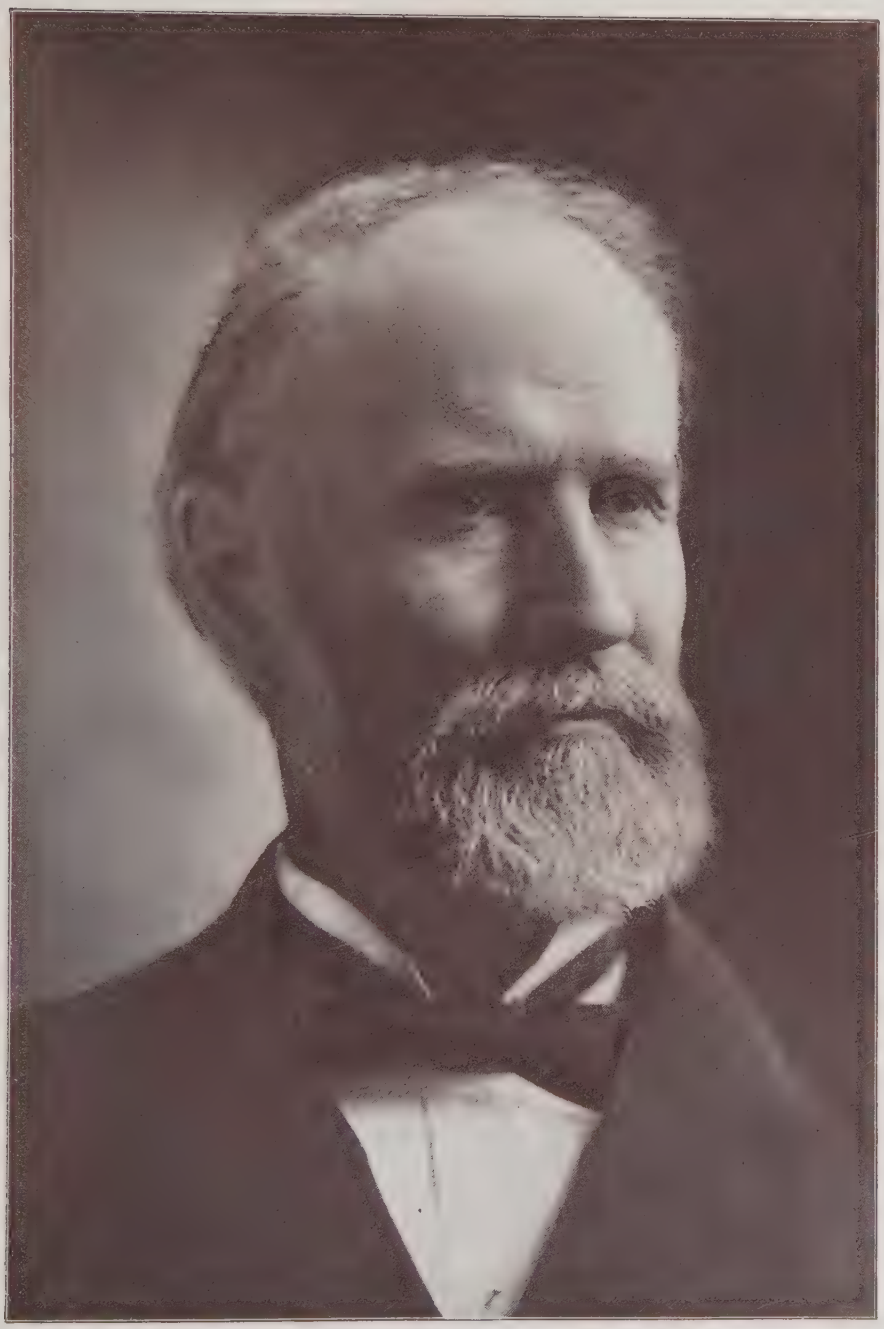
"There may be some people who have no idea of the thoughts that were passing through the minds of this couple at that moment. There are, however, others who can imagine what these thoughts were.

There on the bed of pain lay the strong, powerful man; by his side sat the frail woman, whose physical weakness has been for some years the subject of this husband's tender solicitude. In a humble way they began life together. Two little graves had for them a common interest. In prosperity and adversity they had stood together, participating in the joys and sharing all sorrows of life.

CARDINAL GIBBONS PRAISES M'KINLEY.

Memorial services were almost universal on September 19 throughout Maryland, many congregations meeting and uniting in other than their own places of worship. Perhaps the most important and impressive were the ceremonies at the cathedral in this city, at which Cardinal Gibbons delivered the following eulogy:

"It has been my melancholy experience, in the course of my sacred ministry, to be startled by the assassination of three Presidents of the



JAMES WILSON
Secretary of Agriculture

United States. Abraham Lincoln was shot in 1865, James A. Garfield was mortally wounded in 1881, and William McKinley received a fatal wound on the sixth day of September. Mr. Lincoln was shot in a theater; Mr. Garfield was shot while about to take a train to enjoy a needed vacation, and our late beloved President fell by the hand of an assassin while lending the prestige of his name and influence to the success of a national exposition.

"In the annals of crime it is difficult to find an instance of murder so atrocious, so wanton and meaningless as the assassination of Mr. McKinley. Some reason or pretext has been usually assigned for the sudden taking away of earthly rulers. Baltassar, the impious king of Chaldea, spent his last night in reveling and drunkenness. He was suddenly struck dead by the hand of the Lord.

"How different was the life of our chief magistrate! No court in Europe or in the civilized world was more conspicuous for moral rectitude and purity, or more free from the breath of scandal, than the official home of President McKinley. He would have adorned any court in Christendom by his civic virtues.

"The Redeemer of mankind was betrayed by the universal symbol of love. If I may reverently make the comparison, the President was betrayed by the universal emblem of friendship. Christ said to Judas: 'Friend, betrayest thou the Son of Man with a kiss?' The President could have said to his slayer: 'Betrayest thou the head of the nation with the grasp of the hand?' He was struck down surrounded by a host of his fellow citizens, every one of whom would have gladly risked his life in defense of his beloved chieftain.

"Few Presidents were better equipped than Mr. McKinley for the exalted position which he filled. When a mere youth he entered the Union army as a private soldier during the Civil War, and was promoted for gallant service on the field of battle to the rank of major. He served his country for fourteen years in the halls of congress, and toward the close of his term he became one of the most conspicuous figures in that body. He afterward served his state as governor.

"As President he was thoroughly conversant with the duties of his office, and could enter into its most minute details. His characteristic virtues were courtesy and politeness, patience and forbearance, and masterly self-control under very trying circumstances. When unable to grant a favor, he had the rare and happy talent to disappoint the applicant without offending him.

"The domestic virtues of Mr. McKinley were worthy of all praise. He was a model husband. Amid the pressing and engrossing duties of his official life he would from time to time snatch a few moments to

devote to the invalid and loving partner of his joys and sorrows. Oh, what a change has come over this afflicted woman! Yesterday she was the first lady of the land. Today she is a disconsolate and broken-hearted widow. Let us beseech him who comforted the widow of Nain that he console this woman in her hours of desolation.

"It is a sad reflection that some fanatic or miscreant has it in his power to take the life of the head of the nation and to throw the whole country into mourning. It was no doubt this thought that inspired some writers within the last few days to advise that the President should hencefourth abstain from public receptions and hand-shaking, and that greater protection should be given to his person.

"You might have him surrounded with cohorts, defended with bayonets, and have him followed by argus-eyed detectives, and yet he would not be proof against the stroke of the assassin. Are not the crowned heads of Europe usually attended by military forces, and yet how many of them have perished at the hand of some criminal! No; let the President continue to move among his people and take them by the hand.

LOVE IS HIS STRONGEST SHIELD.

"The strongest shield of our chief magistrate is the love and devotion of his fellow citizens. The most effective way to stop such crimes is to inspire the rising generation with greater reverence for the constituted authorities, and a greater horror for any insult or injury to their person. All seditious language should be suppressed. Incendiary speech is too often an incentive to criminal acts on the part of many to whom the transition from words to deeds is easy.

"Let it be understood, once for all, that the authorities are determined to crush the serpent of anarchy whenever it lifts its venomous head.

"We have prayed for the President's life, but it did not please God to grant our petition. Let no one infer from this that our prayers were in vain. No fervent prayer ascending to the throne of heaven remains unanswered. Let no one say what a woman remarked to me on the occasion of President Garfield's death:

"'I have prayed,' she said, 'for the President's life. My family have prayed for him, our congregation prayed for him, the city prayed for him, the state prayed for him, the nation prayed for him, and yet he died. What, then, is the use of prayer?'

GOD ANSWERS ALL PRAYERS.

"God answers our petitions either directly or indirectly. If he does not grant us what we ask he gives us something equivalent or better. If He has not saved the life of the President, He preserves the life of the

nation, which is of more importance than the life of an individual. He has infused into the hearts of the American people a greater reverence for the head of the nation, and a greater abhorrence of assassination.

"He has intensified and energized our love of country and our devotion to our political institutions. What a beautiful spectacle to behold prayers ascending from tens of thousands of temples throughout the land to the throne of mercy. Is not this universal uplifting of minds and hearts to God a sublime profession of our faith and trust in Him? Is not this national appeal to Heaven a most eloquent recognition of God's superintending providence over us? And such earnest and united prayers will not fail to draw down upon us the blessings of the Almighty.

"The President is dead. Long live the President! William McKinley has passed away, honored and mourned by the nation. Theodore Roosevelt succeeds to the title, the honors and the responsibilities of the presidential office. Let his fellow citizens rally around him. Let them uphold and sustain him in bearing the formidable burden suddenly thrust upon him. May he be equal to the emergency and fulfill his duties with credit to himself, and may his administration redound to the peace and prosperity of the American people."

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND SPEAKS WITH SORROW.

Archbishop Ireland was the principal speaker at the public memorial service in St. Paul, Minn. He addressed fifteen thousand persons at the Auditorium, saying in part:

"America mourns. From sea to sea the hearts of the people are rent, and their lips tremble into words of sorrow and regret. And in sympathy with America the world mourns. William McKinley is dead, motionless, voiceless, powerless. All is over with him save the memory of his passage through life. Death is dreadful in its savage mastery over man. America, affrighted, bows before its resistless scepter.

"Needless to praise William McKinley. The universal, the unexampled outpouring of love going forth from the people of America speaks with all-sufficing eloquence. Greatness and goodness were indeed entwined around the name, else the name would not stir up, as it does, into deepest emotions the hearts of a whole people.

"Oh, God of Nations, has it come to this, that we must ask ourselves whether liberty is to be allowed on earth, such as we have worshiped in our dreams and sought to embody in the institutions of America? But God reigns, and liberty will reign. Not against liberty must we unsheath our swords, but against license, that daughter of hell which drapes itself in the robes of the daughter of heaven and dares call itself liberty."

SENATOR SHELBY M. CULLOM.

"The death of President McKinley is one of the saddest events in American history. Sad not only on account of his great value to the country and the community in which he lived, and to his enfeebled wife, but sadder still on account of the manner of his taking off. I do not feel that I can talk about his death. It seemed to me that it could scarcely be tolerated, or that it can be true, that President McKinley is dead. Why any human being could feel that he could afford to slay such a man is more than I can understand.

"President McKinley had a heart for all the oppressed. There was not a fiber of his nature that did not harmonize with the great body of people of the country and of the world. He was more notably, and positively and earnestly, the friend of the people than perhaps any President we have ever had. President Lincoln had a great heart, and his soul was full of sympathy for the oppressed. President Garfield was full of generosity, kindness and interest for the great masses of the people, but President McKinley seemed to be even more continually interested in the welfare of his country and of the common people than either of them, and yet it falls to his lot to be foully, cowardly and sneakingly stricken down by a villain claiming to be doing what is in the interest of the country.

"It is not the time now, however, to say very much on the subject, but one cannot refrain from saying that unless this government shall adopt some vigorous measures for the protection of its high officials, no good man will be willing to occupy the position now just made vacant by the death of President McKinley.

CAPITAL IN MOURNING.

Washington joined in the nation's funeral day tribute to William McKinley. All public offices and many private business houses were closed at the time fixed for beginning the funeral service at Canton; street cars on all lines were stopped for five minutes; there was a general suspension of work, and all thoughts turned to Canton, where the last offices of his church were being said over him whom Washington knew not only as the President of the United States, but as William McKinley the man.

Memorial services were held in the churches of all denominations, and Jew and Gentile, Roman Catholic and Protestant joined in their tribute to those qualities of the dead chief magistrate which endeared him to the professors of all religions.

At All Souls' Unitarian Church, after Commissioner of Labor Carroll

P. C. KNOX
Attorney General

P. C. KNOX
Attorney General

D. Wright had spoken of the life of the dead President and the lessons to be learned from it, Secretary of the Navy John D. Long delivered a brief address.

TRIBUTE OF SECRETARY JOHN D. LONG.

Secretary Long said that as a member of the congregation and as one of the President's official household it was his duty to express before that congregation his appreciation of President McKinley's exemplary Christian life.

"Our mourning is great," Secretary Long said, "but our mourning for his death should be less than our gratitude for his life. It is fitting that all denominations of the Christian church are one in the recognition of his virtues and the examples of his life. His was a life of modesty and virtue, typical of the best that is in American manhood.

"Mr. Wright has spoken of McKinley's bright-eyed boyhood; of the sweet home influence of his mother and father, whose teachings were never forgotten; of his eager schoolboy days, of his career as a soldier—a soldier distinguished by his readiness to risk his life in carrying succor to his comrades; of his legal and political triumphs; of his service in congress, and of his career as President. His was an administration more significant than any since the time of Lincoln, with whom he ranks.

WAS A MAN OF PEACE.

"But amid all the strenuous strife and turmoil of the last war it is as a man of peace that we think of McKinley. The residents of Washington will mourn less the death of the statesman than the passing away of the fellow citizen. It is for his many traits of kindness that he was dearly loved. The lawyer, the statesman, the President, are revered and appreciated, but his simple human qualities cause McKinley to be loved most. His greatest impulse was always to do all in his power to make his fellow men better and happier."

JUSTICE DAVID BREWER.

Justice David Brewer of the Supreme Court of the United States, who was one of the speakers at the First Congregational Church, spoke of the popular demand that the anarchists must go. He said in part:

"What shall we do? Many things are suggested. On every side we hear strong language expressive of the public horror at the crime. 'Anarchists must go; anarchism must be stamped out.' Some are eager to take the law into their own hands and deal out summary justice upon all who bear the odious name. They would rejoice to see every anarchist speedily put to death.

"Others are demanding that new legislation be enacted, while executives and legislators are declaring that in the coming winter they will see to it that laws are passed to drive anarchism from our borders. I may not discuss the terms of proposed legislation, as no one foresees either what it may do or what questions may arise out of it.

"But there are lessons to be drawn from the assassination of President McKinley by an anarchist which I wish to notice. One which should be borne home to every citizen of the nation, whether in or out of office, is the necessity of a personal respect for law. We denounce the assasination as a horrible crime. We denounce anarchism as the spirit of lawlessness and its followers as outlaws because they look upon all forms of government as wrong and all men in office as their enemies.

"But while anarchism may be the extreme of lawlessness, and anarchists the worst of outlaws, every breaking of the law breathes, though perhaps in a slight degree, the same spirit of lawlessness. Example is better than precept, and every one may well remember that he does something toward checking the spirit of lawlessness and preventing the spread of anarchism when, in his own life, he manifests a constant and willing obedience in letter and spirit to all the mandates of the law.

"Again, the anarchist declares that all government is wrong. He professes to be the enemy of all rulers. Social institutions, as they are, he denounces, pleading that they are unjust and oppressive. Now, if the workings of the social order are made such as to insure justice and peace and comfort to all, slowly the spirit of anarchism will disappear, for all will feel that society as it exists is a blessing rather than a curse to them.

WORK MUST BE DONE.

"And each one of us may in his place and life help to make all those workings of society cleaner and better, gentler and purer—more helpful to those who need, less burdensome to those who toil and richer in all things to all men.

"If the American people shall not spend all its energies in denunciation of this awful crime, or in efforts by force to remove anarchism and anarchists from our midst, but, moved and touched by the sad lesson, shall strive to fill the social life with more sweetness and blessing, then will it be that William McKinley, great in life, will become, partly on account of the circumstances of his death, greater and more influential in the future; an enduring blessing to the nation of which he was the honored ruler."

AMERICANS IN FRANCE ADOPT RESOLUTIONS.

By invitation of General Horace Porter, the United States ambassador, the resident and traveling Americans met at his residence to adopt

resolutions on the assassination of President McKinley. The attendance was numerous, including many ladies dressed in mourning. General Porter presided at the meeting. Senator Lodge, Secretary Vignaud and Consul-General Gowdy were the vice-presidents.

General Porter, in feeling terms, announced the purpose of the meeting. Senator Lodge, in moving the adoption of the resolutions, eloquently outlined the career of the late President and his administration. The senator alluded in grateful terms to the touching manifestation of sympathy shown by the people of Paris and France at the sorrow of the American republic. The following resolution was voted:

"William McKinley, President of the United States, is dead. He was an eminent statesman, soldier and patriot, and a great chief magistrate, whose administration will stand out as one of the most eventful and illustrious in American history. He has fallen at the zenith of his fame, in the height of a great career, by the hand of an assassin. The enormity of the wanton crime, measured by the grievous loss, has brought sorrow to the republic and all her citizens.

"We, Americans, now in Paris, desire to make a public record of the feeling which at this hour of grief we share with all our countrymen. With them we unite in profound sorrow for the untimely death of President McKinley, as well as in admiration of his character as a man and his great public services, which have brought so much honor to the republic.

"We wish to declare our utter abhorrence of the foul crime to which President McKinley fell a victim and of the teachings which produced it.

"To her whom the President gave a lifelong devotion as pure as it was beautiful, we offer our deepest, heartfelt sympathy.

"To President Roosevelt, called so suddenly and under such sad conditions to the presidency, we present our sincere and respectful sympathy, and would also express our generous confidence, in the hope and belief that his administration will redound to his own honor and to the general welfare of our country.

"We are profoundly grateful to the president and people of our sister republic for their quick sympathy and touching expressions of condolence at this moment of great national sorrow of the United States."

THE REV. DR. H. W. THOMAS.

"In these great hours of a nation's distress we have forgotten our debates, and the one thing heard from all our hearts is that our martyred President was a good man; that he loved the people, loved his country, loved God, and was trying to lead in the ways that he and the majority of the people thought best."

EX-CONGRESSMAN GEORGE E. ADAMS.

"President McKinley had a habit of leaning on public opinion. It has been called a weakness. It may be a weakness in a reformer or a prophet. But in a president it is strength, as Lincoln knew. For being slow to go to war, in the recent affair with Spain, he was brutally denounced by those who are his eulogists today. In holding back the government from war until he felt sure that the people insisted on war, the President acted as a friend of peace and obeyed the letter and the spirit of the constitution.

"McKinley's Buffalo speech, his last message to his countrymen, he could not have made ten years ago. It is more than a lesson in economics. It teaches that an American statesman must have an open, receptive mind. He must be willing to be taught by events. His political wisdom is to ascertain and express the sober second thought of the people."

FATHER KELLY PRAISES M'KINLEY.

The Rev. Father Kelly, chaplain of the Seventh Regiment, pronounced a beautiful eulogy at the great Auditorium meeting in Chicago. Father Kelly, among other things, said:

"The universal and heartfelt sorrow in the untimely death of our noble President is ample evidence of the Christian and manly virtues which have placed him in the esteem and affection of his fellow men. The more good a man does in this world to the greater honor and glory of God and for the benefit of God's children—his neighbors—the more he is esteemed and the more general is the grief when the hand of death is laid upon him.

"Judging by this standard, great must have been the moral worth and magnificent beyond compare the acts of kindly brotherhood performed by our lamented President during his life. His qualities as President, as husband, and as man, can stand the searchlight of any scrutiny, and will leave their impression on the pages of our history.

"McKinley's standard of manhood was not measured by dollars. His ideal was not arrogance of power and authority. Imbued with these high ideals and living up to them in public and private life, he never worshiped at the shrines of the false gods of modern progress and avarice He never believed that the end justified the means. He never did a wrong that good might follow, but strove on all occasions to follow the laws of the Great Ruler—'do good and fear no one.'"

PRESIDENT ANGELL, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

"The title that is most likely to come to our martyred President is that of 'The Well Beloved.' Washington had a dignified severity that

left a space between himself and the people. Lincoln was loved by only half the nation when he died. The old animosities between the North and South had not expired when Garfield passed away. But since McKinley came into office the blue and the gray have been united. He won the hearts of the southern people and cemented a nation.

"His was the average American life in a glorified form. He was pure, simple, genial and kind. So long as he dominated our affairs he could be dealt with by foreign powers with sincerity, and this is the secret of the great influence of this nation in the administration of foreign affairs."

ANDREW D. WHITE, UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY.

"President McKinley undoubtedly will pass into the history of the United States as one of the great Presidents. None of his predecessors ever showed so broad and thorough a knowledge of the main questions relating to our industry and commerce.

"On all subjects in these fields he showed not merely talent but genius. A high evidence of this was given in his speech at Buffalo just before he was shot. Having done more than any other to build up the great industries of the nation, he then and there showed how new markets could be found and how our industries could be made more effective in multiplying our relations with other powers.

"During his lifetime, in the heat of partisan strife, he was charged with being devoted to the interests of capital, but when viewed hereafter by the historian it certainly will be seen that his care for the interests of capital was the result of his devotion to labor and to the deepest interests of the plain people, from whom he sprang. He knew that the interests of capital and labor cannot be disassociated. Never has a President planned more wisely or toiled more earnestly for the laboring man."

ADDRESS OF SENATOR HOAR AT WORCESTER.

Senator Hoar made the principal address at the memorial in Worcester. He said in part:

"The voice of love and sorrow to-day is not that which cometh from the lips. Since the tidings came from the dwelling at whose door all mankind was listening, silence, the inward prayer, the quivering lip, the tears of women and bearded men have been the token of an affection which no other man left alive has inspired.

"This is the third time within the memory of men not yet old that the head of the republic has been stricken down in his high place by the hand of an assassin. Each of them was a man of the people.

"We shall, I hope, in due time, soberly, when the tempest of grief

has passed by, find means for additional security against the repetition of a crime like this. We shall go as far as we can without sacrificing personal liberty to repress the doctrine which in effect is nothing but counseling murder.

"We shall also, I hope, learn to moderate the bitterness of political strife, and to avoid the savage attack on the motive and character of men who are charged by the people with public responsibilities in high places. This fault, while I think it is already disappearing from ordinary political and sectional controversy, seems to linger still among our scholars and men of letters.

"The moral is, not that we should abate our zeal for justice and righteousness, our condemnation of wrong, but only that we should abate the severity of our judgment of the motives of men from whom we differ."

TRIBUTE OF M'KINLEY'S COMRADES.

As a last tribute to their beloved President, who was borne to his final resting place on September 19, the Grand Army Hall and Memorial Association of Chicago adopted fitting resolutions which are eulogistic of the life of that noble statesman and strongly condemnatory of the outbursts of anarchy, whose adherent made a martyr of the nation's chief. The resolutions were framed and presented by a committee composed of Francis A. Riddle, Judge Richard S. Tuthill, Charles Fitz Simmons, W. L .B. Jenney and John C. Black.

The memorial as it was unanimously adopted follows:

"William McKinley, the twenty-sixth President of the United States of America, was cruelly slain on the 6th day of September, 1901.

"The universal grief caused by the malicious deed which took from the world this good, wise, courageous and lovable man is sincerely shared by the members of the Grand Army Hall and Memorial Association of Illinois. We come, as loyal citizens of our beloved republic, to this temple dedicated to patriotism, recognizing the authority as well as the necessity of human government, with an unfaltering trust in the supreme reign of moral laws and in the final triumph of righteousness throughout the earth in this hour of humiliation and grave anxiety, deepened by inexpressible sorrow, to manifest our loving regard for a departed comrade, to emphasize our unmeasured respect for one who was lately the honored and beloved chief magistrate of the nation, to acknowledge the priceless benefits which have resulted to our common country from the faithful services of an exalted character, and to express our sense of indignation for the malign influences and malevolent purposes which led to the most inexcusable and villainous assassination known in the history of civilized man.

"To speak in praise of McKinley would be only to utter exclamations of gratitude for benefactions which flow from a virtuous life. In everything which centers in the fabric of a great and good character, the life and career of William McKinley furnishes one of the brightest and noblest examples.

"As patriot, soldier, citizen, statesman and Christian man he leaves to his country and to the world a record and a fame among the most illustrious and exalted of all those who, by the exercise of courage, wisdom, patience and integrity, have achieved the highest stations in human affairs with the sole purpose of promoting the welfare of their country and their kind.

"His name and his fame will be alike imperishable, and in the record of the good deeds of one human life, the leaves which go to make up his will be unsurpassed either in brilliancy or in number. He was by nature a strong, earnest, lovable and loving man. He inherited integrity of purpose, vigor of mind, far-sighted wisdom and a clean heart.

NATION MOURNS HIS LOSS.

"All else that goes to make up his distinguished career and to crown the years of his life with unfading glory was won by him in the wide field open to all human endeavor. And so great was his success, so fascinating was his unique career that in his life all righteous men the world over appreciated and honored his exalted character, recognized his unexampled power, and felt his unequaled and salutary influence in the affairs of men. And in his death the nation mourns, and the people weep for one who was beloved. And so at last, 'having served his own generation, he fell asleep.'

"But looking back upon the record of our country for the past forty years, we feel it our imperative duty to pledge anew our fealty to the government and institutions which, in common with our stricken comrade in arms, we helped, as citizen soldiers of the republic, to preserve. And now, as citizens marching with uncovered heads beneath the flag of our country, so greatly loved and honored, and so highly advanced by William McKinley, and having no thought or hope or wish but that the rights, liberties and privileges of the American citizen shall be adequately protected, we call upon all those in authority to hearken unto the impressive lesson of the sad event which calls us together here.

NO PLACE FOR ANARCHY.

"The rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are inalienable. They are the necessary incidents of every human being, and for

the purpose of protecting all men in the enjoyment of these priceless blessings guaranteed by the constitution of our country, the government which we honor and respect was instituted by the fathers of the nation. That government and all the sacred purposes for which it was created we cherish, but the spirit and purpose of all those who would destroy or subvert its objects, cripple or restrain its powers, molest or murder its lawful officers and servants, we denounce and condemn to the uttermost. Anarchy has no right, legally or morally, to hide its monster head beneath our flag and live.

"The spirit of anarchy originates in sin, feeds on hate, fattens on revenge, and revels in infamy. Its teachings and its acts alike are criminal. Its teachers and its disciples have no motive but destruction, and their sole aim is to blot out civilization and crush forever all semblance of social order and individual right.

SHOULD BE DRIVEN OUT.

"A community of anarchists is a den of vipers, and its breath is the poison of death to everything among men that is pure, holy, sweet, tender, righteous and merciful. The vicious spirits who could suggest or compass the hideous deed perpetrated at Buffalo on September 6 have no right either in life, liberty or the pursuit of happiness.

"The freedom of speech and the liberty of the press do not imply license to destroy the government by which alone free speech and a free press may be maintained, and the people of the United States have the right and the power under the constitution to drive out and forever prevent all associations, combinations and conspiracies of malign individuals whose sole aim is to promote vice, commit crime and destroy the foundations of social order."

MANKIND AT SALUTE.

I.

Where meets the touch of lips—
    Where closes clasp of hand—
Where sail the stately ships—
    Where blooms each flowering land;
Where palm and pine trees shed
    Their balm of bough and leaf,
A world bends low its head
    In brotherhood of grief.

Out of the distance, infinite, vast—
Echo of myriad marching feet—
Riseth a prayer when all is past:
"Take him, O God: his life was sweet."

II.

Where sultry sun beats down—
Where shining ice-fields gleam—
Where pathless forests frown—
Where languid islands dream:
Mankind stands at salute
Wherever thought has birth;
A universe is mute,
A dirge goes round the earth.

Out of the distance—mystical, tender—
Whispered appeal to forever endure—
Riseth a prayer to the Great Defender:
"Take him, O God: his life was pure."

III.

Where breathes a clown or king—
Where prince and pauper stride—
Where races sigh or sing—
Where woe or pomp abide:
Downcast and soft of tread,
Churl, statesman, beggar, slave,
Walk for a moment with the dead—
A world weeps at a grave.

And out of the distance, falling, falling—
Murmured appeal for the martyred dust—
Cometh the prayer of the nations calling:
"Take him, O God: his life was just."
—*Harold Richard Vynne, in Chicago Inter Ocean.*

A STRIKING COINCIDENCE.

On September 20, 1881, the Methodist Ecumenical Conference was in session in London, when the news of President Garfield's death was announced. Prayers were offered for the departed President's family and for the American republic.. Tributes of respect were passed by the

delegates to the memory of the martyred executive. On Wednesday, September 7, 1901, the Methodist Ecumenical Conference was holding its services when the dastardly act of the assassin of President McKinley was made known. Bishop Benjamin W. Arnett, D. D., of the African Methodist Episcopal church was the presiding officer.

Bishop Arnett was a personal friend of Mr. McKinley, and one of his most ardent admirers. In his address he said:

"A sad calamity has befallen our nation and befallen the civilized world. The President of the United States, William McKinley, is a man who exemplifies in his life the Christian religion, and also the principles of Methodism. A Christian from early manhood, he has proceeded through all the mazes of our political life, and he stands to-day without a stain on his character or his fame. We feel that we ought to give expression to our sentiment, and to express our sympathy in this hour."

Bishop Galloway, of the Methodist Episcopal church (South) said:

"I wish I could command my feelings this morning so that I could speak what is in my heart. How profoundly grateful we are, as brethren of the other side of the sea and citizens of the United States, for the sentiments that have been expressed by our brethren here. We remember twenty years ago when our President was stricken down by the bullet of an assassin, how earnestly you prayed for his recovery, and we remember that your gracious queen laid a wreath of flowers upon his coffin, and this whole nation followed at his bier and joined us in weeping over the loss of our honored dead. I speak for the southern section of my great country—that section which was once separated from our brethren in the north by clashing interests and then by an ever-to-be-lamented war. I have long been glad that there was a star on our national flag that answers to the name of Mississippi, my native state. I live in the state of Jefferson Davis, who will go down to history as the chief of a lost cause. I am sure there is not a citizen in that great commonwealth to-day, nor has there been for many years, that has not rejoiced that we have been restored as a union, that we are all members of the same great national family, that we sit at the same bountiful board, and are all equally members in our Father's house. We cannot forget that others have done so much to bring us close together, nor forget the years of stormy war: we cannot forget the words spoken by this noble Christian President, who, in visiting our southern section not many months ago, and addressing those who had borne arms against the great principles which he thought to be right, desired that all the memories of that struggle should be wiped away from the feelings of our countrymen, and he suggested that the graves of the Confederate

soldiers should be protected and decorated by the government, along with those which contained the fallen on the Federal side. We at this conference talked yesterday about peace. William McKinley was the incarnation of peace. But above everything else he illustrated those private and domestic virtues which have made our country great, and which make all civilization great.

"Our President has been stricken down, for whose precious life we so pray. Great as a statesman, distinguished as a leader, lofty in his patriotism, devoted, not only as a citizen of our great country, but of our Methodism—we know how he has illustrated these virtues in turning away from the cares of state to minister during her illness to the noble woman who has walked by his side so long. The country that has pure homes and pure fathers and husbands must be a great country. We reciprocate these kindly expressions from our brethren on this side of the sea."

ORDER OF LOYAL LEGION.

Acting Secretary of War Sanger received the following announcement from General Schofield:

"*Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States—Commandery in Chief:*

"PHILADELPHIA, PA., Sept. 14, 1901.—1. The commander in chief announces with feeling of the deepest sorrow that the president of the United States, Companion Major William McKinley, was assassinated at Buffalo, N. Y., on Sept. 6, 1901, and died at Buffalo, N. Y., Sept. 14, 1901.

"2. Appropriate action expressive of the nation's great loss and of our bereavement will be taken by the commanderies of the order at the first meeting after the receipt of this circular.

"3. The colors of the commanderies will be draped for a period of ninety days.

"LIEUTENANT GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD,
"U. S. A., Commander in Chief.

"JOHN P. NICHOLSON, Brevet Lieutenant Colonel, U. S. V.,
"Recorder in Chief."

SILENCE, THE HUSHED AND SOLEMN TRIBUTE OF A GREAT CITY.

Five minutes of silence in Chicago, minutes when all the world seemed dumb and motionless. That was the sum and crown of Thursday's somber ceremony. It was 2:30 o'clock when the whirr of the city ceased suddenly as if some unseen hand had fallen upon it. The raucous

clangor of rushing wheels and harsh gongs stopped, the dull rumble of unseen engines ceased, and in the crowded streets, where multitudes of men and women stood watching the solemn pageantry, a stillness so profound and perfect fell that the city seemed dead and ghostly, its smokeless buildings and its voiceless pavements, like the towers and vistas of a lost Atlantis.

The pause was so brief and utter that it is not possible to describe or forget it. Nature was at the moment in one of those moods that is eloquent of silence. The clouds hung low and gray. No breeze murmured in the high places, and from tower and spire and staff the flags drooped sullen and listless. The floor of the lake was leaden and still.

When the moment of silence came, great steamers bound for port or pointed toward the further shore stopped their throbbing engines and lay adrift. Fast trains rushing toward the city paused and stood still. Street cables stopped, electric currents were shut off from flying trolleys, and rumbling elevated trains became fixed and soundless.

Even the voice of funeral bells tolling in the residence districts of Chicago fell faint and far during that five minutes of silence. There was no breeze to bear the dull thunder across the city, and so it was heard in the downtown streets vaguely as an echo.

But it was the silence of the million people who surged in the street that was most eloquent. Pushing in counter currents in every thoroughfare within the loop, jostling and murmuring, calling to friends among the marchers and spectators, crooning the sad measures of funeral march or hymn, the swarming sea of humanity made a murmur that rose dully even above the blare of bands and the tramp of marching feet. At Michigan avenue and Van Buren street, as the parade swept slowly past, there was almost a bedlam of unpremeditated disorder. The streets were choked from wall to wall. A tide of new spectators was rushing in from the tributary streets, the line of march was clogged again and again. In vain the mounted police and patrolmen charged upon the throng. Women shrieked and grew faint in the maelstrom and men seemed to be fighting for place of escape. It was in the midst of this bedlam that a tall horseman in the parade suddenly reined his horse.

He doffed his helmet and, waving it above the turbulent crowd, shouted "Hats off!"

At once the sea of struggling men and women became calm. They stood transfixed and silent in their places. Hats withdrawn were held across hearts, and women bowed their heads in silent prayer. The murmurs died away. The cannon that was booming a President's salute

spoke no more. The trumpets hushed the funeral fanfare, the muffled drums were still. The men with arms stood at salute like statues. The long column halted. And the wordless panegyric which then became eloquent for five full minutes seemed to have more meaning in it than all the rhetoric, and all the music, and all the black and purple mourning trappings that the world had lavished upon the memory of the great dead. As by some incomparable sympathy the multitude seemed to know that at that moment the grave at Canton was closing forever upon the murdered President, that the ultimate time had come for memory, and tears and prayers.

When the clock showed that the half-hour was five minutes old, the sound of singing voices coming from the balcony of the Chicago Club intoned the first line of "Nearer, My God, to Thee." Quavering at first and thin, the chant arose. One by one the men and women in the streets took up the chorus, till the volume of song, piercing and strong by very contrast with the late silence, rose into mighty diapason of melody that was vocal with sorrow, worship and hope. Along the marching column the bands caught the spirit of the stately hymn, and the wave of music that swelled in unison then was like the sound of a great "Amen."

The whole character of the day's ceremonial in Chicago was marked by the most extraordinary decorum. It spoke in the subdued voices of the people, and shone in the grave little faces of the children. The lowering skies added to the somber aspect of the city, and the sad or spiritual motive of the music enhanced the meaning of the demonstration with a rare and exquisite tenderness.

An hour before the funeral pageant had passed away a gentle rain began to fall in fitful showers. The wind sprang up again and whistled dismally among the wires. But the crowds, steadfast in their quiet sorrow, remained in their places till the last rank had passed.

INCIDENTS ILLUSTRATING THE DEPTH OF FEELING THAT MARKED THE DAY AS OBSERVED IN CHICAGO.

When the moment for silence came the vacant presidential carriage halted under the windows of the Chicago Club. When the word was given to move forward again and the carriage started on the journey through the lane of loving hearts the thousands about the starting point gazed on a spectacle that in its significance and wonderful lesson can never be forgotten by any who saw it. The Eighth regiment of the Illinois National Guard, consisting of colored troops, was preceded by its own band, the members of which were only a few feet away from the empty carriage. All about and behind them in process

of formation were the old warriors of the Confederacy and the Union. The band had been ordered to play "Nearer, My God, to Thee." Instead these black men, guided by some inspiration that seemed to seize them and catch up in its embrace the tens of thousands within their hearing, swung forward to the strains of "Dixie." It was too much for hearts already full to overflowing, and the pent-up feeling found vent in a long subdued cheer, a cheer of blent pain and delight, an ungraven epitaph flung out to heaven in memory of the martyr whose acts had made such an incident possible. It was the only moment of all that long march that a cheer was heard from the hundreds of thousands in the down-town streets. But it was a cheer and a prayer blended, a benediction and not a sacrilege.

In a secluded little spot in the southeast cornor of the federal building square is perched a small silk flag at half-mast. It floats from the spot where President William McKinley stood more than a year ago when with fitting words he laid the cornerstone of that immense structure. It is a lonely little spot and entirely hidden from view of the street by the high board fence which incloses the grounds. The only thing that marks it is the little block of masonry upon which the dead President stood when he made his brief address. Yet this event remained fast in the memories of a little group of workmen who listened with intense interest to his sincere words at that time and marveled that such a man should not be the choice of the whole people.

Early in the morning from the windows of adjoining buildings these same men could be seen trailing to this memorable spot to plant their last emblem of true love to the memory of their beloved President. Later in the afternoon, when Chicago was as silent as a new village and the remains of William McKinley were being borne to their last earthly resting place in Canton, they knelt around the little flag in silent prayer and for minutes not a word was spoken aloud by any of them. Then they arose and left the yard in different directions.

An incident of the five minutes of silence was the cessation of all business by the Postal and Western Union Telegraph companies during that time. At 2:30 o'clock, as the last march to the grave was started at Canton, word was sent to the central offices of the companies in Chicago and to all branch offices, and the great systems became silent. No message was sent or received for five minutes, and the throbbing wires were as dumb as if the motive power had been destroyed. Operators who a few minutes before were working the telegraph keys to send messages of great or minor importance to all parts of the country sat motionless in their chairs. It was the first time in the history of telegraphy that business had been stopped so

generally and so suddenly. When the hands of the clock pointed to 2:35 the operators bent over their instruments again and the busy clicking of keys was resumed.

In front of the new postoffice building on the Dearborn street side sat a woman garbed in deep mourning. Her little son stood beside her. During the entire parade she did not raise her eyes to watch the marchers. She sobbed as though her heart would break. The marchers had no charms for her, and her grief was shared by those who surrounded her. When the parade was done she walked away, leading her boy by the hand, never uttering a word. As she went the big policeman who had made a place for her remarked: "That woman must have known some great sorrow. Her grief was pitiful."

Acting under the general order issued by President Cassatt of the Pennsylvania railroad, Conductor M. O. Ginty of the New York and Chicago express brought his train to a standstill at 2:30 o'clock. As it happened the train was four hours late, and at that time was about to cross the Ohio line into Indiana. Upon Ohio soil, however, and on the edge of a great cornfield far from any station, the passengers gathered to do reverence to the memory of President McKinley. Rev. Mr. Bell, of Dayton, O., was present and conducted a short but impressive religious service. There were about 100 people in the audience, representing many different states. Some of the women wept at the eloquent words of the impromptu prayer, and the men, including the train crew from engineer to flagman, stood with uncovered heads. The sky was clear from horizon to horizon and the wind rustling in the drying corn stalks was the only accompaniment to the speaker's words.

Labor paid its last tribute to the late President in the parade. Mr. McKinley had been an honorary member of Bricklayers and Stone Mason's Union, No. 21, of Chicago. Nearly the full membership of the organization turned out to honor his memory. Following the banners of the organization in carriages came the union bricklayers, each with a black and purple rosette on his left shoulder and a red carnation in his buttonhole. Headed by President Gubbins of their national union, they marched almost the entire line with bowed heads.

The crowds waiting for the parade at the corner of Michigan avenue and Jackson boulevard saw all the representatives of the foreign countries stationed in Chicago, as they were conspicuous by their uniforms and gold braid. These were heavily draped in crepe. Perhaps the foreign representative most admired was Dr. W. Wever, the German consul. Dr. Wever was dressed in the full uniform of the German Hussars. As the Deutscher Kriegerverin and the other German

societies came along the consul took up a position where he could see the faces of each one of the old veterans. The doctor stood at attention while all passed, and was saluted by each of the former residents of the Vaterland. His erect military figure and the uniform made famous by the grandfather of the present emperor of Germany was recognized by the old German soldiers long before they reached the boulevard.

As the strains of Chopin's funeral march pealed forth from the great pipe organ in the Great Northern hotel at 2:30 o'clock every guest in the crowded lobby with uncovered head bowed reverently to do honor to the dead. With the opening notes of the march every light in the big hotel ceased to shine, and the dismal surroundings made the music all the more impressive. All business was suspended during the playing of the dirge, the doors being closed for the first time since the hotel was opened, and not one of the hundreds of guests moved till the organ was stilled.

As the G. A. R. section of the parade was turning the corner of Washington and LaSalle streets two gray-haired old veterans dropped out of line. One was more feeble than the other, and both painfully cognizant their marching days were over.

"John, I can't go any farther."

"All right, William, let's sit right down here on the curbstone. Fixed comfortable? There goes a fellow used to be major of an Indiana regiment. He was brigaded with us. Boys don't walk as spry as they used to. Lincoln, Garfield, and now McKinley. Pretty hard, ain't it, John? Guess we've seen, and the country, too, the last of our soldier Presidents. Yet, Roosevelt's all right. I know he's a soldier President, but you know what I mean. He wasn't with Grant or 'Pap" Thomas, 'Old Man' Sherman or 'Black Jack' Logan. That's what I mean by soldiers. Yet, sir, I'm afraid McKinley's the last of our kind. Let's go home, William. I can't stand any more of this."

A tear stole out of the corner of the speaker's eye and trickled down his cheek, but it ran its course, no move was made to check it. And there were tears in other folks' eyes.

A man with a package of crepe badges for sale was shouting his wares loudly in the streets around Haymarket Square while the West Side division was being formed when he was summoned by one who stood looking on.

"How many badges have you?" the vender was asked.

The badges were counted out. The man then said: "I will buy them all. Here is your money." And then he added: "Now give them away with less noise than you have been making. This is not the time and place for such aggressive business methods."

CHARLES EMERY SMITH
Postmaster General

CHARLES EMERY SMITH
Postmaster General

As the empty carriage of the Degeia Greek society, bearing only a life size portrait of President McKinley, passed around the corner of Randolph street and Fifth avenue the procession for some reason halted for a moment. The crowds pressed around the vehicle, eager to get near, as they had mistaken it for the one in which the President rode on his visits to Chicago.

The marshals and their aids were trying to clear the way, when a little girl, not more than 6 years old, darted out from the front wall of the crowd and ran toward the carriage. Half a dozen throats shouted a warning to her as she dodged near the horses' heels, but she paid no heed.

Reaching the carriage in safety the little one paused a moment and then tenderly tossed a handful of purple asters into the vehicle. She threw a kiss after the flowers and then started to run back to the sidewalk. A strong man picked her up and bore her to the mother, who had just missed her child.

"I gave my flowers to the President, mamma," said the little girl as she was set down at her mother's feet.

"She did, indeed, ma'am," said the man who had carried the child back, as he motioned to a group of men who had seen the incident, smiling approval as they stood with their hats in their hands."—*Chicago Record-Herald.*

CHAPTER V.

LIFE OF WILLIAM McKINLEY

Early Manhood—War Record—Lawyer and Politician.

William McKinley was born at Niles, Trumbull county, Ohio, on January 29, 1843, being now 58 years old. He was the son of William McKinley, Sr., and Nancy Campbell Allison, and sprang from a line that had figured in many of the early struggles and hardships of the republic.

McKinley's boyhood life really began at Poland, a neat little village, about eight miles south of Youngstown. Main street is its principal thoroughfare, which is well shaded with handsome trees. It is crossed by a beautiful and picturesque stream, upon whose banks the village grist mill is located. Should we follow Main street from the Methodist church, up hill and down hill to its terminus, a good-sized common and a Presbyterian church, we would find all that tends to make up a small village.

Here we come in contact with all classes, rich and poor alike. The various stores, the postoffice, in which McKinley served as a clerk during vacation, and the old Sparrow tavern, which is now falling into decay, all are found on Main street.

McKinley was but a child when his parents moved from Niles and made a home in this little village in Mahoning county. His surroundings and society were partly agricultural and partly mining, for Poland stands well by both these industries. It is the center of a rich farming country, and its appearance partakes more of this characteristic than of coal and mining. It is the most southern township of the original Western Reserve. One of the original land company from Connecticut settled at this point.

In this old Ohio village he was brought up, atending the public school and subsequently the academy, which was an excellent institution for those times. He left the academy when about seventeen, and entered Allegheny College. Here he remained but a short time, returning to Poland in consequence of illness. Recovering, he did not again return to Allegheny, but taught a country school. At this period in his life he enlisted.

Life at Poland until the war broke out was far from exciting. Youths like McKinley were obliged to study hard and not infrequently do odd jobs to help earn money for books and tuition. As they advanced into professions it was often necessary to teach school, clerk in a store, work on a farm, or take up some other occupation during vacation. The McKinley family never hesitated to do this, and as a result, all were equipped with good educations. Two of the daughters became excellent teachers, while McKinley himself, as before stated,

House in Poland, Ohio, Where McKinley Lived While Attending School.

taught one term of winter school in what was then called the Kerr district. This old schoolhouse still stands. It is about two and one-half miles by road southwest of Poland, but young McKinley usually strode manfully "across lots" to shorten the distance. Many who live in Poland still remember seeing the young schoolmaster climbing fences and making his way over the rolling surface of the country to and from his duties. He was thus able to assist in defraying the expenses of his tuition and that of other members of the family at the academy.

This sort of life, as all know, sharpens the intellect, and broadens the mind, and has a tendency to shorten the period between boyhood

and young manhood. McKinley was a real boy, full of fun, loving athletic sports, fond of horses, hunting and fishing, and all outdoor exercises, and yet at sixteen we find him taking upon himself a serious view of life.

In times of war, young men are filled with a spirit of patriotism, and will leave father, mother, home—yes, all, and follow the "fife and drum," inspired with love of freedom for our beloved country. Such an one was William McKinley.

Poland (Ohio) Seminary, Where McKinley Attended School.

The little town of Poland was not to be outstripped in sending men and boys to help the cause of "freedom."

In the old inn a generation ago, could be heard the mutterings and murmurings of the mustering hosts. Here young men and boys stood ready and eager to "shoulder arms" and march forth as quickly as the Government would take them. Poland prides herself to this day that she never stood the draft. As the murmurings of war were floating over the country, this little village was not asleep. One day, as they were gathered in the old tavern, the speaker pointed to the stars and stripes, and exclaimed with much feeling: "Our country's flag has been shot at. It has been trailed in the dust by those who should defend it, dishonored by those who should have cherished and

loved it. And for what? That this free government may keep a race in the bondage of slavery. Who will be the first to defend it?" The hush which fell upon them was overpowering. Did it last long? Behold them now as they step forth one by one, among them a slight boyish figure, with gray eyes filled with the fire of patriotism. Who was this youth? William McKinley, scarcely eighteen years old.

Let us now see the religious side of his life. The church records show that in 1858, when he was hardly sixteen, young McKinley united with the Methodist Episcopal church of Poland. He had a deep religious nature and was ever alive to the questions asked in the

Post Office, Poland, Ohio, Where McKinley Was Clerk.

Bible class. The pastor, Rev. W. Day, D. D., was a man of great influence and subsequently became eminent in his profession.

Young McKinley's record in the church was that of an earnest, persevering Christian, who discharged all duties faithfully. He studied the Bible with as much zeal and energy as he did law, and later on the great questions of state, leaving no stone unturned so as to reach the bottom of the subject. Thus, in his youth, this American statesman, the beloved and martyred President, must have worked very hard. A close student, he was always up to the standard in the academy. The midnight oil was burned by him in a course of law reading.

Thus, as leader of the village debating sociiety, assisting the post-

master, teaching school, doing odd jobs, a constant attendant at church, asking and answering questions in the Bible class; all summed up, these were indeed busy days for William. His constitution was good, his disposition cheerful, and with a hopeful heart, he was enabled to go through all this.

When the guns of Sumter sounded the call to arms, he dropped his books, shouldered a musket and marched off into Virginia with the Twenty-third Ohio. Col. Rutherford B. Hayes was the commander. A few incidents tell better the kind of soldier he was than would an extended account of his service. When the battle of Antietam oc-

Sparrow House, Poland, Ohio, Where McKinley Enlisted in 1861.

curred he was a sergeant in the commissary department. That battle began at daylight. Before daylight men were in the ranks and preparing for it. Without breakfast, without coffee, they went into the fight, and it continued until after the sun had set. Early in the afternoon, naturally enough, with the exertion required of the men, they were famished and thirsty, and to some extent broken in spirit. The commissary department of that brigade was under Sergeant McKinley's administration and personal supervision. From his hands every man in the regiment was served at the front with hot coffee and warm meals, a thing that had never occurred under similar circumstances in any other army in the world. He passed under fire and delivered,

with his own hands, these things so essential for the men for whom he was laboring.

Governor R. B. Hayes, in writing reminiscences of Major McKinley, said of this incident:

"Coming to Ohio and recovering from wounds, I called upon Governor Tod and told him this incident. With the emphasis that distinguished that great war governor, he said: 'Let McKinley be promoted from sergeant to lieutenant,' and that I might not forget, he requested me to put it upon the roster of the regiment, which I did,

McKinley Carrying Dispatches from Gen. Hayes to Gen. Crook.

and McKinley was promoted. As was the case, perhaps, with very many soldiers, I did not keep a diary regularly from day to day, but I kept notes of what was transpiring. When I knew that I was to come here, it occurred to me to open the old note-book of that period and see what it contained, and I found this entry:

"'Saturday, 13th December, 1862.—Our new Second Lieutenant, McKinley, returned today—an exceedingly bright, intelligent and gentlemanly young officer. He promises to be one of the best."

"He has kept the promise in every sense of the word."

Another incident, and one which closed his active career as a sol-

dier, occurred at the battle of Cedar Creek. It showed that, young though he was, no personal consideration deterred him from doing his duty. His commander had but to give him orders, and with all the dash of a veteran warrior, he rode through a hail of shot and shell to deliver them. General Russell Hastings, then a lieutenant in McKinley's regiment, and his warm friend, afterwards told the story of that gallant deed. It appears that General Crook's corps, some 6,000 strong,

McKinley Removing an Abandoned Battery in the Face of the Enemy.

found itself opposed to the whole of General Early's army. Some sharp fighting ensued. General R. B. Hayes, who was in command of his brigade, seeing that he could accomplish nothing without reinforcements, fell back towards Winchester. General Hastings said of the event:

"Just at that moment it was discovered that one of the regiments was still in an orchard where it had been posted at the beginning of the battle. General Hayes, turning to Lieutenant McKinley, directed

him to go forward and bring away that regiment, if it had not already fallen. McKinley turned his horse and, keenly spurring it, pushed it at a fierce gallop obliquely toward the advancing enemy.

"None of us expected to see him again, as we watched him push his horse through the open fields, over fences, through ditches, while a well-directed fire from the enemy was poured upon him, with shells exploding around, about, and over him.

"Once he was completely enveloped in the smoke of an exploding shell and we thought he had gone down. But no, he was saved for better work for his country in his future years. Out of this smoke emerged his wiry little brown horse, with McKinley still firmly seated and as erect as a hussar.

McKinley Directing Gen. Sheridan to Gen. Crook's Headquarters After the Famous Ride from Winchester.

"McKinley gave the Colonel the order from Hayes to fall back, saying, in addition, 'He supposed you would have gone to the rear without orders.' The colonel's reply was, 'I was about concluding I would retire without waiting any longer for orders. I am now ready to go wherever you shall lead, but, lieutenant, I "pintedly" believe I ought to give those fellows a volley or two before I go.' McKinley's reply was, 'Then up and at them as quickly as possible,' and as the regiment arose to its feet the enemy came on into full view. Colonel Brown's boys gave the enemy a crushing volley, following it up with a rattling fire, and then slowly retreated toward some woods directly in their rear. At this time the enemy halted all along Brown's immediate front and for some distance to his right and left, no doubt feeling he was touching a secondary line, which should be approached

with all due caution. During this hesitancy of the enemy, McKinley led the regiment through these woods on toward Winchester.

"As Hayes and Crook saw this regiment safely off, they turned, and, following the column, with it moved slowly to the rear, down the Winchester pike. At a point near Winchester, McKinley brought the regiment to the column and to its place in the brigade. McKinley greeted us all with a happy, contented smile—no effusion, no gushing palaver of words, though all of us felt and knew one of the most gallant acts of the war had been performed.

"As McKinley drew up by the side of Hayes to make his verbal report, I heard Hayes say to him, 'I never expected to see you in life again.'"

McKinley at the Battle of Antietam Serving Coffee and Meat Under Fire.

General Sheridan also paid tribute to McKinley's zeal, when he galloped down the line from Winchester, shouting, "Face the other way, boys, we're going back!" On that famous ride he met Lieutenant McKinley, and that young officer carried the news through General Hayes' brigade, so that when the advance was ordered the brigade was in place, and another Union victory was achieved.

Lieutenant McKinley was made captain on July 25, 1864, and was brevetted major by President Lincoln for gallant conduct on the fields of Opequan, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek. He was with the old Twenty-third in all its fights and was mustered out with the regiment in July, 1865.

McKinley's military life and advancement, as indicated by the

official records, was most commendable. He enlisted as a private in Company E of the Twenty-third O. V. I., June 11, 1861; was promoted to commissary sergeant, April 15, 1862; was promoted to second lieutenant of Company D, September 23, 1862; was promoted to captain of Company G, July 25, 1864; was detailed as acting assistant adjutant general of the First division, First army corps, on the staff of General Carroll; was brevetted major, March 13, 1865, and was mustered out of service July 26, 1865.

William Henry Smith says of McKinley: "His success on merit during the war of the rebellion has had its counterpart in civil life in the public service. When someone remarked in the presence of General Hayes that Major McKinley possessed many brilliant qualities as a public man; that he was skillful in debate and tactful as a leader, but was lacking in business ability, he received this reply: 'A man who before he had attained the age of twenty-one, kept up the supplies for the army of General Crook in active service in the field, is not lacking in business ability. He has capacity equal to any enterprise, for any position in life, even the highest."

BECOMES A LAWYER AND POLITICIAN.

After his military career, McKinley returned to his home in Ohio, where he entered upon the study of law with Judge Charles E. Gidden, at Poland, afterward taking a course of study at the Albany, New York, Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1867. McKinley's early life was favored, in that he had not only true and noble parents to guide him, but in his civil career, had such a man as Judge Gidden, who is spoken of as being of high character, eloquent and forceful address, and a voice which, when once heard, was never forgotten.

He commenced his law practice in Canton, Ohio, to which place he removed, and was elected district attorney of Stark county, in which capacity he served ten years, and was re-nominated, but not elected, as the enemy, as ever, was on the alert, and caused his defeat. But this did not daunt him, and as the town of Canton grew in importance, his law practice increased.

These events would naturally lead him into politics, and we find him now launching out on that great sea, whose waves carried him to the highest and most honored position an American citizen can attain.

January 25th, 1871, Major McKinley was married to Miss Ida Saxton, daughter of J. A. Saxton, a banker, of Canton. That event had, in after years, no doubt, much to do with the strong hold on the affections of the people, acquired by Major McKinley. His wife became

an invalid early in their married life. The two little girls born to them died in childhood, and Major McKinley devoted all the time he could spare from public duties to comforting his helpmate. No more beautiful example of marital devotion was ever seen than that of William McKinley to the gentle invalid, who survives him, and is enshrined with him in the hearts of his countrymen.

Major McKinley was first elected to Congress in 1876. He was nominated by the republicans, who had little hope of electing him. His opponent was Judge L. D. Woodsworth, the then incumbent of the office, and a democratic wheelhorse. There was a democratic majority in the district, the old eighteenth of 1800. Few expected this could be overcome, but Major McKinley overcame it, having a clean majority of 1,300 votes.

It was particularly felicitous for Major McKinley that his first four years in congress were coincident with the administrtion of President Hayes. The youngest member of congress, he had the intimate and near friendship of the ruler of the nation. Of course, no direct political advancement could, or did, grow out of this friendship.

He made no plunge into legislative work during his first session. The records do not contain any speech of his, nor does his name appear on any important committee. He studied and learned, and after his first speech in 1878, on the Wood tariff bill, he was recognized as a man of power. A place on the ways and means committee was given him, and for thirteen years he remained there. It is impossible to summarize his congressional career in the limited space this volume affords, but his tariff record, which was the main work of his legislative career, is treated in another chapter. Suffice it to say, that up to the time of his unseating by the democrats in the forty-eighth congress, he was attending carefully and energetically to all his duties, and had come to be regarded as one of the ablest members of the house. So satisfied with his services were the people of his district that though the democrats sought to defeat him by gerrymandering his district, he won in every case until 1890.

The unseating of McKinley by the democratic majority in the forty-eighth congress in no wise affected his popularity at home. He had been a modest and faithful servant of the people. In every undertaking he had stood four-square to all the winds which blew, and his friends and neighbors in his native state never intended to permit such a devoted public servant to go into retirement. The experiment of putting an untried democrat in the place so long occupied by Major McKinley had not been a conspicuous success, and there were many people who, despite their party affiliations, disliked the manner in which the

major had been deprived of his seat. It was generally admitted that he knew more about the real needs of his constituency which might be remedied by legislation, than any other man. That he was honest, and untiring in his efforts to do his full duty towards his people, all knew.

The democrats, however, did not propose to allow him to go back to congress, if they could help it. No doubt was entertained as to his becoming a candidate in 1884, and the democrats tried to head him off by their favorite scheme of gerrymandering the district again. The effort was unsuccessful. A hot canvass followed Major McKinley's nomination, and when the votes were counted, it was found that he had secured a majority of 1,500, despite the best efforts of the opposition.

When the major appeared in Washington in March, 1885, he found many friends to welcome him back. There was plenty of work for him to do, and he applied himself to it diligently. The index to the Congressional Record for that period contains nearly a page of memoranda showing the part he took in the legislation of the country.

He was never a flambuoyant talker, and spoke in the house only when he had something weighty to say. This was recognized long before his leadership was established, and he had attentive listeners whenever he arose to speak. During this session he delivered an address in memory of the murdered President Garfield, that was eloquent in its simplicity, and worthy of commendation, because of the high range of its thought, and the lessons of patriotism and duty which it inculcated.

Another speech uttered at that session, is memorable because it shows his long and earnest sympathy with the laboring man. Major McKinley was brought up amidst the great, throbbing iron and steel industries of the country. He had seen the struggle of the workingmen to secure proper recognition of their rights, and he felt for them the keenest sympathy. This was manifested in various ways, and was specially emphasized in the debate on the bill submitted to the house by the committee on labor, providing for "the speedy settlement of controversies and differences between common carriers engaged in interstate and territorial transportation of property or passengers, and their employees."

There is, perhaps, more of sarcasm in his remarks than he usually permitted, but it was an open fight, and he was doubtless prepared to meet the issue to the utmost end, and to permit no unanswered attacks on the policy of his party and the principles he professed to believe in. Congressman Breckinridge, of Kentucky, had moved an amendment to the bill, which precluded board of arbitration from administering oaths subpœnaing witnesses, compelling attendance, etc., and in defending

the amendment, he had declared that the only remedy possible, by legislation, for the evils complained of, was equal laws. "Let us distribute the burdens of our civilization," he said, 'equally upon labor and capital. That is all we can do. Make capital pay its share of the burdens; take from labor the burdens which have been unequally imposed upon it. Say by equal laws there shall be a great distribution of the burdens; that the burden shall no longer gall this burden-bearing back, and that labor shall have a just and equal consideration under our laws with capital. I say to my democratic friends, this bill is not in the direction they want us to go. This is not the remedy for the burdens upon oppressed labor. But there is a remedy: Let us reduce taxation. Let us go back to the old democratic doctrine of free and equal rights to all."

Upon obtaining the floor, Major McKinley said:

"Mr. Chairman: I rise to oppose the amendment of the gentleman from Kentucky. The whole purpose of the amendment is to destroy whatever of good results may be expected from the passage of this bill; and I can readily see why a gentleman who is opposed to this system of settling differences between employer and employee should offer the amendment which is here proposed. I am quite sure, Mr. Chairman, that the fervent and eloquent words of my distinguished friend, will be welcomed by the laboring men of the land as a sovereign cure for their evils and their discontent. I feel very certain that the general platitudes in which he has indulged, about the equality of all men in this country, and the dignity of labor, and the general statement that the way to help these workingmen is to reduce taxation, will be accepted by them as a never-failing remedy. I am sure every laboring man in this country will hail with acclamation, these soft words as a panacea for all his troubles.

"I am opposed to the amendment, because I believe in the principle and tendency of the bill. I would amend it in some particulars if I could. The bill confers no rights or privileges touching arbitration which are not now enjoyed by common carriers and those engaged in their service. It leaves them where it finds them, with the right of voluntary arbitration, to settle their difficulties through a peaceful and orderly tribunal of their own selection. It only follows the principle recognized in many states of the Union, notably in Ohio and Massachusetts, and gives national sanction and encouragement to a mode of settlement of grievances between employer and employee, which is approved by the best judgment of the country, and the enlightened sentiment of all civilized peoples.

"While the bill does not compel arbitration, its passage here will not

be without influence as a legislative suggestion in commending the principle to both capital and labor as the best and most economic way of composing differences and settling disagreement which experience has unformly shown, in the absence of an amicable adjustment, results in loss to all classes of the community, and to none more than the workingmen themselves.

"If by the passage of this simple measure arbitration as a system shall be aided to the slightest extent, or advanced in private or public favor, or if it shall serve to attract the thoughtful attention of the people to the subject, much will have been accomplished for the good of our communities, and for the welfare and prosperity of the people.

"I am in favor of this bill for what it is, and only for what it is. It does not undertake to do impossible things, or cross the line of safety. I will regret if it shall deceive anybody, and if it is the purpose of anybody to make believe that its passage is a cure for the evils and discontent which pervade society, I must disclaim now any part or share in such purpose or expectation, for it will not, and can not, and nobody supposes it will. It simply provides that when the railroad companies operating through two or more states, or in the territories, shall agree upon and consent to an arbitration, this bill will aid, encourage and assist the parties concerned to get at the truth, to probe to the bottom, ascertain the facts of the situation, by which the board will be enabled to act intelligently and justly to all interests involved. This is the whole of it in scope and extent, and cannot and will not deceive any one.

"It is said there is no way to enforce the judgment of the arbitration, and, therefore, it is a nullity. I have the least concern on that score. I have no fear that after the railroad corporation and its employees have united in an arbitration, its judgment will be disobeyed or not acquiesced in as final and conclusive. Neither will venture, in the absence of fraud, to ignore the award of a tribunal of their own selection, in which both have voluntarily confided for the settlement of their differences. We need borrow no trouble on that account. Refusal to obey the judgment of the arbitration would be the exception and not the rule, and an award honestly reached will be sacredly observed. Nor am I troubled because there is no compulsion to arbitrate in the first instance. Either party provided for in the bill, believing it has a genuine grievance, and inviting the other to arbitrate, will occupy a vantage ground which the other can not long successfully defy. There is a sense of fair play among the people which, when crystallized into public judgment, is as potent, ay, more potent than statute or judicial decree. No railroad corporation, no labor union, no body of laboring men could long hold out against fair and equitable demand, backed by a willingness to

submit the justice of that demand to a board of competent arbitrators. In any view there is no harm in trying this experiment; and in this effort, small and inconsequential as it may seem to be, I am confident we are moving in the right direction and nothing but good can result."

In closing his remarks, Major McKinley said:

"I believe, Mr. Chairman, in arbitration as a principle. I believe it should prevail in the settlement of international differences. It represents a higher civilization than the arbitraments of war. I believe it is in close accord with the best thought and sentiment of mankind. I believe it is the true way of settling differences between labor and capital. I believe it will bring both to a better understanding, uniting them closer in interest, and promoting better relations, avoiding force, avoiding unjust exactions and oppression, avoiding the loss of earnings to labor, avoiding disturbances to trade and transportation; and if this house can contribute in the smallest measure, by legislative expression or otherwise, to these ends, it will deserve and receive the gratitude of all men who love peace, good order, justice and fair play."

This speech, taken in connection with Major McKinley's subsequent acts as governor of Ohio, during the acute labor disturbances of 1894, show his love of justice, and his constant effort to achieve by lawful and reasonable means, the greatest possible good to society.

His undeniable trust in the wisdom of the people was again exhibited during this congress, when the bill concerning the presidential succession was under discussion. Fault had been found with the existing law—that framed by the founders of the republic—as being inadequate, and a committee of the house had formulated a bill, making the succession—in case of the death or disability of the president and vice-president, run to the cabinet ministers. Major McKinley disagreed with the provisions of the bill, and offered an amendment, in the nature of a substitute, for the pending bill. In explaining the scope of his amendment, he said:

"Mr. Speaker, my substitute preserves the existing law as it was made in 1792, and leaves the presidential succession where we find it in that law; and the only new provision I propose is that we shall never be without a president pro tempore of the senate, and never be without a speaker of the house of representatives. And to this end my substitute provides that the congress shall assemble at midday on the 4th day of March succeeding the election of representatives in congress, for the purpose of electing a speaker. And it further provides, that in the event of the speakership, or the presidency pro tempore of the senate becoming vacant during the recess, the president of the United States shall forthwith assemble the house in which such vacancy exists, for the

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Secretary of War

purpose of electing a presiding officer. It preserves intact the law as our forefathers made it, and executes with certainty their purpose, and that of the law itself. It avoids the dangerous step taken by the present bill, which takes away from the people of the country, in whom all power resides, the right to fill a vacancy in the presidency in a certain contingency, that contingency being the death or removal of both president and vice-president of the United States. I would leave that power with the people, where it properly belongs. I am opposed to any step in the opposite direction. My substitute follows the pathway of the founders of the government, which, in my judgment, is the path of safety."

Major McKinley's substitute was defeated, but the bill passed. Was it fate that he should be the first president whose successor should be inducted into the high office under the provisions of that bill?

In the fiftieth and fifty-first congresses, Major McKinley was chiefly engaged in the handling of tariff measures, which will be considered in another chapter. It was in 1890 that he was finally defeated for congress. In the fifty-first congress he had succeeded in securing the enactment of the protective tariff bill that bore his name, and as a result had been made the target for all sorts of vile abuse by opponents throughout the country. The free traders of Ohio clamored for his defeat, and to accomplish it another gerrymander was resorted to. Stark county was put into a district with Wayne, Medina and Holmes counties, and Ex-Lieutenant Governor Warwick, a popular democrat, was nominated against Major McKinley. One year before the counties comprising the new district had given Campbell, the democratic candidate for governor, 2,900 majority, but, despite this fact and the combination against him of all the power democracy could bring to bear, he was defeated by only 363 votes. The largest vote ever cast in the district was brought out, and the Major polled 2,500 more votes than had been given Benjamin Harrison for president in 1888.

When in congress Mr. McKinley served on the committee of the revision of laws, the judiciary committee, the committee of expenditures of the postoffice department and the committee on rules; and when General Garfield was nominated for the presidency, McKinley was assigned to the committee on ways and means in his place, and he continued to serve on the last named committee until the end of his congressional career.

CHAPTER VI.

His Last Term in Congress. Record on the Tariff.

Major McKinley rounded out his congressional career in the 51st congress with the passage of the protective tariff law known as the McKinley bill. The remarkable wisdom displayed in handling that measure indicated, probably, that he had fulfilled his destiny as a legislative factor, and thenceforth his work for the people was to be in executive channels. No greater fame could have come to him than the shaping of that law, which pledged his party to a principle, and which proved of such benefit to the nation. In considering his final services in the house, it may be well to take a backward glance at his record, especially as related to the tariff question, and give an idea of the cause of the power he wielded.

The tariff question was not a new one in the history of American legislation when William McKinley took his place in the house of representatives at Washington. It had been thrashed over by the colonists, who objected to and sought to evade exactions of the mother country long before the declaration of independence was written. How to protect the people, to develop the country and to prevent suffering among the producing classes, were questions that the colonists and the continental congress struggled with, and that their successors in administrative affairs found great difficulty in settling. Some of the states, before the adoption of the constitution, passed laws for the express purpose of protecting home industries against the better organized and cheaper manufacturers of Europe. Pennsylvania in the preamble to her tariff law, said:

"Whereas, although the fabrics and manufactures of Europe and other foreign parts imported into this country in times of peace, may be afforded at cheaper rates than they can be made here, yet good policy, and a regard for the well-being of divers useful and industrious citizens who are employed in the making of like goods in this state, demand of us that moderate duties be laid on certain fabrics and manufactures imported, which do most interfere with, and which (if no relief be given) will undermine and destroy the useful manufactures of the like kind in this country."

At that early day it was clearly seen that industries could not be

built up in this country if they had to compete with foreign manufactures on equal terms. But the protective idea, in its full efflorescence, had not yet come into being. The school of political economists then holding sway—Richards, Adam Smith, Say and others—favored free trade. In theory that is as beautiful as socialism in its essence—and as impractical. But the fact was not appreciated then, nor for years afterward. When the constitution was adopted the subject of raising revenue for the expenses of government was discussed and congress was given power to "regulate commerce." What that meant was long a subject of debate, and while the proponents of protection declared it meant a tariff for the protection of American industries, the opponents were as sure as they could be of anything that it meant that congress should only "regulate commerce," so far as to provide revenues for the government. Though the question has been discussed ever since, there are still those who hold to the belief that all protective laws are unconstitutional, and do violence to the intent of the framers of our organic law.

Major McKinley was one of those who held to the broader meaning of the fathers of the republic. He followed Daniel Webster, who in a speech in Albany, N. Y., in 1847, said:

"Now, in the early administration of the government, some trusts and duties were conferred upon the general government, about which there could not be much dispute. It belonged to the general government to make war and peace, and to make treaties. There was no room for dispute as to these powers; they were liable to no great diversity of opinion. But then comes the other power, which has been, and is now, of the utmost importance—that of regulating commerce. What does that import? On this part of the constitution there has sprung up in our day a great diversity of opinion. But it is certain that when the constitution had been framed, and the first congress assembled to pass laws under it, there was no diversity of opinion on it, no contradictory sentiments. The power of regulating commerce granted to congress was most assuredly understood to embrace all forms of regulation belonging to those terms under other governments—all the meaning implied in the terms, in the same language, employed in all laws, and in the intercourse of modern nations. And I consider it as capable of mathematical demonstration—as capable of demonstration as any problem in Euclid, that the power of discriminating in custom house duties *for the protection of American labor and industry,* was understood, not by some, but by all, by high and low, everywhere, as included in the regulation of trade."

Rufus Choate and other eminent men held similar views, but con-

gress thrashed the question over and over again, until the year 1893, when, after the passage of the Wilson bill, which repealed the McKinley act, the country came to the conclusion that the protective theory was, if not absolutely right, at least productive of greater good to the people than the free trade theory.

In the controversies leading up to this conclusion from 1878, Major McKinley bore a conspicuous part. He did not gain a foremost place as a matter of chance, nor because there were no leaders of consequence on his side. When he made his first speech in congress on the subject of tariff, he was in company with those veterans, Morrill, of Vermont, and Judge William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania. They were masters of all the arguments to be used on the subject of protection of American industries, yet they listened to this youth from the west, and admired the logical manner in which he presented the subject, his wonderful knowledge of the facts, and the splendid manner in which he drove home his arguments. It was no fortuitous combination of circumstances which thus branded him as a leader among leaders. It was hard, systematic work, such as he had all his life been accustomed to do. When a young lawyer in Canton, it is said, an able and cunning lawyer of an adjacent town, knowing that Major McKinley was a protectionist, proposed to debate the question with him. The major agreed, but the opponent was too strong for him. A bright intelligence, sophistry, and long practice enabled the elder man to win a victory. The incident galled Major McKinley. He recognized his unpreparedness for the contest, and said to a friend: "Hereafter no man shall overcome me so; I know that I am right in this matter, and I know that I can show that I am right by and by." From that time on he studied assiduously. Books, and men, and conditions, were scrutinized, and everything in the way of knowledge they had to impart was absorbed by the major. It is said that those who traveled with him, or who met him away from home, were amazed at his persistent inquiry respecting material things which might suggest a lesson in American prosperity. The railways, their mileage, their traffic, their dividends, their proposed extensions; the mills, what they produced, how many hands they employed, how the working people lived; what comforts and luxuries they were able to enjoy; the distinctive trade of any city in which he happened to stop; whether it was on the increase, or was decreasing, and why. Of the agricultural interests of the country it was said he could tell the husbandmen more than they knew, and yet he drew them out on all occasions. Add to these facts the further statement that his youth was spent within sound of the roar of iron furnaces, and that the greatest industrial development the world

ever saw was going on during his congressional career, and it is easy to see that no man could have been better equipped than he to lead his party in the matter of legislation, and ultimately to become, through its agency, the chief executive of the nation. No man ever had a stronger sense of duty, or a more steadfast adherence to principle than Major McKinley, and when he stood up in the house, April 15, 1878, to speak on the Wood tariff bill, he said:

"I am opposed to the pending bill from a high sense of duty—a duty imposed upon me by the very strong convictions which I entertain after an examination of its several features, and from the conviction that should the proposed measure become a law, it will be nothing short of a public calamity."

He discussed the general features of the bill, and declared that if enacted into law it would decrease the national revenues, lower wages and impoverish the working classes. After he had, with masterly skill, dissected the measure and shown its weaknesses, he concluded:

"Mr. Chairman, the proposed bill is a piece of patchwork, and abounds in inconsistencies. It is an attempt to conciliate two schools of political science and pleases neither. It has marched out into the broad field of compromise and come back with a few supporters, it is true, who are opposed to the original bill as reported. It is neither free trade, tariff reform, nor protective tariff. It has none of the virtues of either, but the glaring faults of all systems. It is an attempt to change a law which does not improve the old one. It is an experiment opposed by all experience. It introduces uncertainty into the business of this country, when certainty is essential to its life. I can not better characterize it than by quoting the language of the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. Wood) in speaking of a tariff bill pending in June, 1864, in this house. Speaking of that bill (and his words seem prophetic as applied to his own), he said: 'The committee has given us a bill which I regard as an exceedingly crude and improper measure;' and that is what the country has already said of the pending bill, and it is what I believe will be the verdict of this house when a vote is reached.

"What the country wants above all else at this critical period is rest —rest from legislation, safety and security as to its basis of business, certainty as to the resources of the government, immunity from legislative tinkering. None of these are afforded by the present bill.

"Mr. Chairman, there never was a time in the history of this country, more inauspicious than the present for the dreamer and the theorist to put into practical operation his impracticable theories of political science. The country does not want them; the business men of the

country do not want them. They want quiet to recuperate their wasted forces, and I am sure I utter no sentiment new or original when I say that if this house will promptly pass the appropriation bills and other pressing legislation, and follow it with an immediate adjournment, the people will applaud such a course as the work of statesmen and the wisdom of men of affairs."

It was in this manner, calmly but forcibly, that he entered upon the work in congress, with which his name was thenceforth to be steadfastly allied. Four years later, owing to the changed condition of national affairs, he advocated a friendly revision of the tariff by a commission appointed for that purpose. The commission was appointed by President Arthur, June 7, 1882, and was composed as follows: John L. Hayes, of Massachusetts, chairman; Henry W. Oliver, Pennsylvania; Austin M. Garland, Illinois; Jacob A. Ambler, Ohio; Robert P. Porter, District of Columbia; John W. H. Underwood, Georgia; Duncan F. Kenner, Louisiana; Alexander F. Boteler, West Virginia, and William H. McMahon, New York. The result of the labors of the commission was reported to congress in 1883, and Major McKinley was one of the most active participants in the debate which resulted. The bill became a law, but in 1884 the democrats took up the question again. Congressman W. R. Morrison, of Illinois, introduced a measure known as the Morrison horizontal bill. The democrats were dissatisfied with the republican measure, and declared that Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania, Major McKinley, and others did not have sufficient ability to frame a tariff law, and had therefore turned the matter over to a commission of experts. In the debate on the bill Major McKinley met the objections which had been urged against the commission bill, and displayed his remarkable familiarity with the subject by taking up the various schedules and pointing out the errors of the ways and means committee. In his speech he said:

"It is gratifying to know that at last the true sentiment of the democratic party of the country dominates the party in which it has so long been in the majority, and no longer submits to the dictation of a factious minority within its own ranks. It is gratifying because the people can no longer be deceived as to the real purpose of the party, which is to break down the protective tariff and collect duties hereafter upon a pure revenue basis, closely approximating free trade. Patent platforms and the individual utterances of democratic statesmen will no longer avail, and false pretenses can no longer win.

"The bill reported from the committee on ways and means is a proposition to reduce the duties upon all articles of imported merchandise, except those embraced in two schedules, to-wit, spirits and silks,

twenty per cent. It is to be a horizontal reduction, not a well matured and carefully considered revision. Its author makes no such claim for it, but confesses in his recent speech, that while a revision and adjustment are essential, they are believed to be unattainable at the present session of congress.'"

In further discussing the measure, Major McKinley said:

"What can be said of the capacity of the majority of the committee on ways and means as evidenced by the bill before us? It is a confession upon its face of absolute incapacity to grapple with the great subject. The Morrison bill will never be suspected of having passed the scrutiny of intelligent experts like the tariff commission. This is a revision by the cross-cut process. It gives no evidence of the expert's skill. It is the invention of indolence—I will not say of ignorance, for the gentlemen of the majority of the committee on ways and means are competent to prepare a tariff bill. I repeat, it is not only the invention of indolence, but it is the mechanism of a botch workman. A thousand times better refer the question to an intelligent commission, which will study the question in its relation to the revenues and industries of the country, than to submit a bill like this.

"They have determined upon doing something, no matter how mischievous, that looks to the reduction of import duties; and doing it, too, in spite of the fact that not a single request has come either from the great producing or consuming classes of the United States for any change in the direction proposed. With the power in their hands, they have determined to put the knife in, no matter where it cuts, nor how much blood it draws. It is the volunteer surgeon, unbidden, insisting upon using the knife upon a body that is strong and healthy, needing only rest and release from the quack whose skill is limited to the horizontal amputation, and whose science is barren of either knowledge or discrimination. And then it is not to stop with one horizontal slash: it is to be followed by another, and still another, until there is nothing left either of life or hope.

"It is well, if this bill is to go into force, that on yesterday the other branch of congress, the senate, passed a bankruptcy bill. It is a fitting corollary to the Morrison bill; it is a proper and necessary companion. The senate has done wisely in anticipation of our action here in providing legal means for settling with creditors, for wiping out balances, and rolling from the shoulders of our people the crushing burdens which this bill will impose."

The next assault upon the tariff which Major McKinley met was in 1888, when Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, presented what is known as the Mills bill. This bill was fixed up by the majority of the ways and

means committee to suit themselves. It was completed and printed without the knowledge of the minority, and without consideration or discussion in the full committee. This naturally incensed Major McKinley, who was a member of the committee. The minority made repeated efforts to obtain from the majority of the committee data from which the bill was constructed, but without avail. Major McKinley prepared and presented to the house the views of the minority of the committee on the Mills bill, and the document is said to be one of the ablest ever prepared on the subject. The minority condemned the bill, declaring it to be a radical reversal of the tariff policy of the country which for the most part had prevailed since the foundation of the government, and under which the country had made industrial and agricultural progress without a parallel in the world's history. The schedules were analyzed and their inconsistency and unworthiness, from a republican standpoint, referred to. In closing, the report asserted that the minority regarded the bill not as a revenue reduction measure, but as a direct attempt to fasten upon this country the British policy of free foreign trade.

A few weeks after the presentation of this report, Major McKinley delivered a speech in the house against the bill. It was a masterly effort, prepared with all possible care, and it is declared to have been one of the most convincing speeches on the subject ever uttered. There was no argument which the democrats advanced to which he had not a ready answer, and the clearness with which he presented his points, and remarkable grasp of the numerous details which he possessed, astounded even those who were familiar with his career, and knew the care with which he examined every subject brought to his attention while in the performance of his duty.

In the course of his address, he spoke as follows:

"From 1789 to 1888, a period of ninety-nine years, there have been forty-seven years when a democratic revenue tariff policy has prevailed, and fifty-two years under the protective policy, and it is a noteworthy fact that the most progressive and prosperous periods of our history in every department of human effort and material development, were during the fifty-two years when the protective party was in control and protective tariffs were maintained, and the most disastrous years—years of want and wretchedness, ruin and retrogression, eventuating in insufficient revenues and shattered credits, individual and national—were during the free trade or revenue tariff eras of our history. No man lives who passed through any of the latter periods but would dread their return, and would flee from them as he would escape from fire and pestilence, and I believe the party

which promotes their return will merit and receive popular condemnation. What is the trouble with our present condition? No country can point to greater prosperity or more enduring evidences of substantial progress among all the people. Too much money is being collected, it is said. We say, stop it; not by indiscriminate legislation, but by simple business methods. Do it on simple, practical lines, and we will help you. Buy up the bonds, objectionable as it may be, and pay the nation's debt, if you cannot reduce taxation. You could have done this long ago. Nobody is chargeable for the failure but your own administration.

"Who is objecting to our protective system? From what quarter does the complaint come? Not from the enterprising American citizen; not from the manufacturer; not from the laborer, whose wages it improves; not from the consumer, for he is fully satisfied, because under it he buys a cheaper and better product than he did under the other system; not from the farmer, for he finds among the employees of the protected industries his best and most reliable customers; not from the merchant or the tradesman, for every hive of industry increases the number of his customers and enlarges the volume of his trade.

"This measure is not called for by the people; it is not an American measure; it is inspired by importers and foreign producers, most of them aliens, who want to diminish our trade and increase their own; who want to decrease our prosperity and augment theirs, and who have no interest in this country except what they can make out of it. To this is added the influence of the professors in some of our institutions of learning, who teach the science contained in books, and not that of practical business. I would rather have my political economy founded upon the every day experience of the puddler or the potter than the learning of the professor; or the farmer and factory hand than the college faculty. There is another class who want protective tariffs overthrown. They are the men of independent wealth, with settled and steady incomes, who want everything cheap but currency; the value of everything clipped but coin—cheap labor, but dear money. These are the elements which are arrayed against us."

The Mills bill, though passed by the house, was defeated in the senate, and no one man contributed more to that result than Major McKinley. He had been for ten years at work almost incessantly upon the subject of tariff. He had ransacked the pages of history, explored native industries, quizzed all classes of people, and had learned all there was to know. He was not an expert as to the iron industry alone. He knew all about wool, about glassware, about lace, sugar, drugs, lumber, wheat, coal, and the myriad commodities which are in daily use

by society. As a result of these studies and experiences, he had already hoisted the banner of protection for protection's sake. Other leaders of the party had wobbled somewhat in times past on the subject of protecting home industries by levying a tariff. There had been talk of a "tariff for revenue only" in the party, and "a revenue tariff with incidental protection," but Major McKinley listened to no doctrine on the tariff question which did not embody, without equivocation, the idea of protection.

When congress assembled in 1889, Major McKinley, then chairman of the committee on ways and means, set about preparing a tariff bill which had for its object the double purpose of reducing the then surplus revenue, and of revising and harmonizing the several schedules of the tariff law. The work was done completely and systematically. It caused no disturbance in business circles, because everybody knew there would be no violence done to the existing law, and that business would be in no wise unsettled. To get at facts, however, everybody interested, high and low, was heard by the committee, and no one worked as hard during all this period as Major McKinley. The bill was drawn, and said to be the most complete, symmetrical and patriotic law ever framed. It is not necessary here to enter into details concerning it. Suffice it to say that it stimulated manufactures in a most remarkable degree, and brought amazing prosperity to the country. Before these results were brought about, however, another congressional election had been held, and a democratic house had been chosen. That body, in accordance with party principles, took up the tariff question, and finally passed the Wilson bill, which President Cleveland declared an act of "party perfidy and party dishonor," and said if the house should at last concur in it, "they would not dare to look the people of the country in the face."

The speeches of Major McKinley on the bill bearing his name show the honesty of his convictions, and the superb consistency with which he maintained himself amidst conflicting opinions and seeming disaster. The return of a democratic house in 1890, after the passage of the McKinley bill, and his own defeat as the result of another gerrymander, did not alarm him. He regarded it as only an insignificant incident in a great conflict. To the weak-kneed among his friends, those who could not penetrate the future as unerringly as he did, he said: "Be firm; This is only a cross current, a chop sea; the tide of truth flows surely on beneath."

The passage of the Wilson bill demoralized industry, and commercial depression ensued that was only relieved when under the administration of President William McKinley the Dingley tariff bill was enacted.

CHAPTER VII.

Governor of Ohio.

After his defeat for congress in 1890, nothing in the ordinary course of events could have prevented Major McKinley from becoming governor of Ohio. He had apparently made no plans looking toward such a consummation, but the drift of talk set toward him at once as the man to be nominated by the next republican state convention. He was recognized as a man of broad views—his home folk never regarded him as a man of one idea—and he had met all the duties which had been thrust upon him so well that he inspired the people with the utmost confidence. He was a safe man, his rectitude unquestioned, his devotion to principle unshakable. But Ohio had many able men who aspired to the governorship. Major McKinley stated to his friends that he would be pleased with the nomination for governor, but would not enter into a contest for it.

When the legislature met in January the representatives of the people were interviewed, and the sentiment in favor of Major McKinley was so overwhelming that thenceforth no other man was spoken of for the place by the republicans. In the campaign for congress he had made such a splendid canvass that the republicans felt sure he would redeem the state for them. James E. Campbell, who had been elected governor in 1889, by a plurality of 10,872, had declared that he had made Ohio a permanently democratic state, and in order to keep it so, the democratic leaders thought the defeat of Major McKinley for congress would be essential. Consequently, they had unmercifully gerrymandered the state, so that even should the republicans carry it by 20,000 plurality, they could not hope to secure more than seven out of twenty-one congressmen. But the republicans were in no wise dismayed. Confidence in the party success became strong, and an unusually large number of candidates for nomination on the republican state ticket presented themselves before the convention, which was held in Columbus in June, but there was only one name mentioned for the gubernatorial nomination—that of William McKinley.

When McKinley arrived at Columbus he received a great ovation. It was one of the most enthusiastic conventions Ohio had seen since the

war of the rebellion. Ex-Governor Foraker nominated Major McKinley in a characteristically brilliant speech, and upon motion of Ex-Governor Foster, the nomination was unanimously conferred upon the major. In his speech of acceptance, Major McKinley made an admirable presentation of the issues of the day, particularly as to currency and the tariff, and stirred his auditors to a high pitch of enthusiasm. The platform endorsed the "patriotic doctrine of protection," and likewise the "amended coinage act of the last republican congress, by which the entire production of the silver mines of the United States is added to the currency of the people."

The democrats nominated Governor James E. Campbell, who had in the previous campaign defeated Senator Foraker.

The campaign was formally opened in August, at Niles, McKinley's birthplace. But in the interim, the major spoke at soldiers' reunions, "harvest homes," etc. August 22d, at Niles, he made his first formal speech in the campaign. There was a large political and industrial parade, which was reviewed by the gubernatorial candidate from the veranda of the house in which he was born. From the day of his nomination until his election, he made 130 speeches, and visited eighty-four out of the eighty-eight counties of the state. His speeches were always apt, and no man stirred the people more than he, though many of the campaign orators were more eloquent. There was not one, however, who surpassed him in earnestness, or who more clearly defined the issues of the campaign. As a result, he was elected by a splendid plurality.

His administration as governor during the two terms was unostentatious. He was the same plain "Major" McKinley he had been throughout his congressional career. Red tape was abolished, and any one who had any business with the executive could always reach him. In his first inaugural address, he said:

"I approach the administration of the office with which I have been clothed by the people deeply sensible of its responsibilities, and resolved to discharge its duties to the best of my ability. It is my desire to cooperate with you in every endeavor to secure a wise, economical and honorable administration, and, so far as can be done, the improvement and elevation of the public service."

This was the key note of his work as governor. He endeavored to give to the public institutions the benefit of the services of the best men of the state; and while there was never any question as to his stalwart republicanism, he always tried to prevent inefficiency and demoralization in the management of the state institutions through the introduction of extreme partisanship. At the inception of his administration

he realized the tendency to extravagance in public institutions, and he advocated economy from the start, and insisted upon it through his gubernatorial career. He approved of liberal appropriations for necessities, and saw that abundant provision was made for the care of the helpless and unfortunate wards of the state.

He never attempted to build up a personal machine, but acted fairly and justly by every interest in the state, according to his best judgment. Notwithstanding the arduous labor he had performed in connection with national affairs, he displayed, as governor, a thorough knowledge of the needs of the state, and his various messages to the legislature were models of simplicity and directness. He advocated the preservation and development of the canals of the state, the improvement of country roads, just laws relating to labor, and other measures for the general good.

The governor's sense of justice was exemplified in his first inaugural address, when he came to consider the subject of gerrymandering. He had several times been the victim of this vicious practice, but he did not permit his personal experiences to sway him in pronouncing upon the matter. He told the legislature that it would be necessary, under the new census, to redistrict the state, and said:

"Make the districts so fair in their relation to the political divisions of our people, that they will stand until a new census shall be taken. Make them so impartial that no future legislature will dare disturb them until a new census and a new congressional apportionment will make a change imperative. Extreme partisanship in this arrangement should be avoided. There is a sense of fair play among the people which is prompt to condemn a flagrant misuse of party advantage at the expense of popular suffrage. Partisanship is not to be discouraged, but encouraged in all things where principle is at stake; but a partisanship which would take from the people their just representation, as in the case of the congressional redistricting by the last legislature, is an abuse of power which the people are swift to rebuke."

Governor McKinley gave considerable time to the subject of taxation during his term of office, and called attention to the danger of recklessly authorizing local indebtedness. This he believed to be such an evil that he declared, "the creation of local indebtedness of counties and municipalities, should not be authorized by the general assembly without submission to the people, except for great emergency."

Governor McKinley's first term expired in 1893, and he was renominated without opposition. His democratic competitor was the Hon. L. T. Neal. Governor McKinley was elected by 80,000 plurality.

In a preceding chapter Governor McKinley's sympathy with the

laboring man has been pointed out. In 1886, in the national house of representatives, he advocated the bill providing for arbitration between railroad corporations and their employes, and during his first term as governor of Ohio, a law creating a state board of arbitration was passed. He always favored legislation for the protection of workingmen in hazardous occupations, and of procuring for them such considerate treatment as of right belonged to them, and which could be secured by the enactment of laws. In 1892 he recommended legislation for the safety and comfort of the employes of steam railroads; in 1893 he repeated the recommendation, and specifically urged the furnishing of automatic couplers and air brakes for all railroad cars used in the state. In the same year he called attention to the wonderful developemnt of street railways and the application of electricity thereto, and urged that legislative requirements should be made, looking to the safety of employes and the traveling public. He recommended, also, that the legislature should require that all street cars should be furnished with "vestibules," to protect the motormen and conductors from the severe weather to which they are exposed. The legislature acted on his recommendation and passed such a law.

But these were not all his services to the cause of labor. He always recommended arbitration of labor difficulties when they were brought to his attention, and bent every effort to secure such an outcome. In this way the strike of the miners in the Massillon district was brought to a close, after every other effort at settlement had failed. About twenty-five mines were involved, and 2,000 mine workers had been idle for eight months. The loss of earnings and business consequent upon the strike, amounted to about $1,000,000. When Governor McKinley was consulted about a settlement, he got the parties together, and, with the aid of the state board of arbitration, a solution of the trouble was speedily reached. This was accomplished without cost to the state, and with no violence or malicious destruction of property.

The year 1894 is memorable for the labor troubles which occurred. It was in that year that the railway men of the country, under the direction of Eugene V. Debs, quit work and tied up nearly every transportation line in the country. The national government ordered out troops to see that there was no interference with the carrying of mails, and nearly all of the states, from coast to coast, had their local soldiery under arms. In Ohio, the miners' strike, in June, caused trouble, and a disposition was manifested to destroy property and interfere with the rights of people not parties to the control. Governor McKinley was prompt to act. He called out regiment after regiment until nearly every national guardsman in the state—some 3,600—was on duty.

The governor's action served notice upon everybody that he proposed to uphold the dignity and the good name of the state, as long as there was a soldier left to obey his orders. For sixteen days he remained incessantly at his post, giving orders, seeing to the comfort of the men and repressing any attempt to use the military rashly or unlawfully. The troops were in the field many weeks, but the people had no cause to complain of their doing more than their bounden duty. The spirit of the governor inspired the troops, and, indeed, the whole state. What he did was right at the time, and in the right way. He had been through four years of active service during the war, and he knew better than did the young men in the coal valleys of the state, what it meant to march and to fight.

During that summer of trial, it is related that an employer of a large number of men then on strike asked the governor what he would do about ordering out the militia in a certain contingency, which it was supposed might be reached. The governor answered:

"It is needless to ask what a public officer of Ohio will do. He does his duty. The practical question is what can we do, and what will your employees do; what can we all do properly to divert the necessity of using force? That is the question for immediate solution, at which I have been engaged for some days." He had already secured the attendance of the state board of arbitration, and that day a meeting between the parties interested was held in his office, and before midnight the tidings were sent abroad that the great strike on the Hocking Valley railway was ended. This was brought about without expense to the state, and without any disturbance of the public peace.

By daylight the next day, July 18, the thousands of freight loaded cars that had stood on switches for three weeks, the numerous coal mines stopped through sympathy for the strikers, or for want of transportation facilities, and the four thousand men who had been forced into idleness, began to stir. In less than twenty-four hours all through the Hocking Valley, every industry was in operation, and the credit for this happy outcome was due, in no small degree, to the worthy governor of the state.

Another incident, showing how swift and effective were the governor's methods, occurred in 1895, when the Hocking Valley mines were suffering because of a strike. January 7 a meeting was held at Nelsonville of the Trades Labor Union, comprising the Hocking Valley mining district, for the purpose of effecting an organization and formulating a plan to relieve the distress and destitution existing among the miners and their families. After a full discussion of the situation, a committee was appointed to wait upon Governor McKinley and present

to him, on behalf of the miners, the memorial adopted at the meeting. January 8, the committee called upon the governor, and made a statement relative to the condition of the miners, and the need of prompt relief. The governor listened courteously, and suggested that the men return to Nelsonville and request the mayor to call a meeting of the citizens to consider the question of relief. When apprised of the result of such a meeting, he promised to take immediate action looking toward the carrying out of their wishes. The meeting of citizens was called, as the governor had suggested, and the matter discussed. The sense of the gathering was that relief must be immediate and must come from the state. Consequently, a telegram was sent to the governor, which he received at 11:45 p. m., January 9, saying, "Immediate relief needed." This was enough for the governor. He at once sent messengers to the proprietor of wholesale groceries, a dealer in vegetables, flour, etc., a transfer company, and the officials of the Hocking Valley railroad company, to meet him immediately at his rooms. The subject of the meeting was the purchase of a carload of provisions and its shipment early in the morning. The supplies were purchased and loaded in the cars before 5 o'clock the next morning. As a result of the diligence, within nine hours after the receipt of the message, the carload of provisions was in Nelsonville ready to be distributed to the hungry.

Governor McKinley not only purchased the supplies, but also assumed payment for them. He did not intend to ask the state to pay for this carload of provisions, the cost of which was nearly $1,000, but some of his friends learned that he had assumed the obligation, and they at once took the matter in hand, and secured from state officers and heads of departments the larger proportion of the amount, which they turned over to him; and this sum, added to his own subscription, liquidated the obligation assumed by him.

This, of course, did not suffice to permanently relieve the distress existing, and at various times thereafter, during January and February, the governor was called upon for assistance. He met each appeal promptly, and at various times appointed committees to visit the distressed sections, and report as to the real situation. February 19, he addressed a communication to the boards of trade and chamber of commerce in Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland and Toledo, requesting the appointment of committees to visit the mining districts and investigate and report on the conditions there existing.

The relief work was prosecuted systematically, and even when the governor was out of the city, his orders were to see that every appeal for help was fully met. These instructions were followed, and the chairman of the general relief committee reported at the close of the

LYMAN J. GAGE
Secretary of the Treasury

work that the promptness with which Governor McKinley acted, and the liberal contributions made, prevented hunger and suffering on the part of the miners.

The final report of the chairman of the general relief committee, made February 17, showed 2,723 miners out of employment, representing a population of 10,000. It was further declared that the families of these miners had been made comfortable, during a period of several weeks, by the efforts of the relief committee, the cost being $32,796.95.

One other feature of the reign of Governor McKinley needs to be mentioned, because it shows how strongly he felt that the supremacy of the law should be maintained at all times. At Buffalo, when he saw that attack made upon the assassin, he said: "See that no harm comes to him." He anticipated that an outraged populace might take summary vengeance upon the miscreant, and such action did not meet his views. In October, 1894, at the request of the authorities of Fayette county, he ordered the militia to Washington Court House. A heinous crime had been committed there, the criminal had been apprehended and, with proper regard for his rights, had been given a fair trial. The verdict was guilty and the culprit was sentenced to the limit of punishment fixed by law. This did not satisfy some of the boisterous spirits in the community, and an attempt was made to lynch the prisoner. The mob was held back for some time by the militia, under command of Colonel Coit. The soldiers were stationed in the courthouse. When the excitement was at its height, an attack was made upon the courthouse, and the guardsmen fired upon the mob, killing three people. A great uproar resulted, many declaring the soldiers should not have fired. A military court was instituted to inquire into the conduct of Colonel Coit, and he was absolved from all blame. Governor McKinley, true to his convictions, sustained the brave officer. He said:

"The law was upheld, as it should have been, and, as I believe it always will be in Ohio—but in this case at fearful cost. Much as the destruction of life which took place is deplored by all good citizens, and much as we sympathize with those who suffered in this most unfortunate affair, surely no friend of law and order can justly condemn the national guard, under command of Colonel Coit, for having performed its duty fearlessly and faithfully, and in the face of great danger, for the peace and dignity of the state.

"Lynching cannot be tolerated in Ohio. The law of the state must be supreme over all, and the agents of the law, acting within the law, must be sustained.

"The proceedings and findings of the court of inquiry have been carefully considered by me. I hereby announce my approval of the con-

clusions of said court, which find that Colonel Coit and his officers and enlisted men of Fourteenth Infantry, O. N. G., acted with prudence and judgment, and within the law, supporting the civil authority of Fayette county, and in the aid of it, and acting in pursuance of lawful orders, and that they performed their duty with singular fidelity, and that through them the majesty of the law, and government by law, was vindicated and sustained."

One year later another attempt at lynching was made at Tiffin, Seneca county. The sheriff and his deputies resisted the mob and called upon the governor for aid. With amazing celerity he started four companies from as many different cities, to the scene of the trouble, and their prompt arrival prevented the threatened disgrace.

CHAPTER VIII.

Financial Troubles. Loyalty to Friends.

An unfortunate event, and one which brought to its central figure much grief and humiliation, but nothing savoring of dishonor, occurred while Major McKinley was governor of Ohio. It involved him in financial ruin, the result of his too great confidence in a life-long friend. But though one friend seemingly betrayed him, the episode raised up a host of friends for the gentle and earnest man who so bravely met the crisis, and in a short time all the difficulties were adjusted. The governor found himself untrammeled by debt, as a result of the persistent and unsolicited action of his friends, and his future in no way jeopardized by the trying experience through which he had passed.

An impartial historian cannot pass over this episode. It has been the subject of too many mis-statements, and justice demands that a clear presentation of the facts shall be made.

In the beginning it may be said that one of Governor McKinley's warmest friends in Ohio was Robert L. Walker, of Youngstown. They had known each other from boyhood, and, measured by the ordinary standards, both had achieved success in life. Governor McKinley had climbed high in the estimation of the people; had irremovably fixed his name in the legislative annals of his country, and occupied the highest office in the gift of the people of his state.

Mr. Walker was a capitalist, banker, and the head of numerous manufacturing enterprises. Among these were the Farmers' National Bank of Youngstown, and the Girard Savings Bank, of both of which he was the president. The Youngstown Stamping Company, a stove works, and several coal mines were also among his possessions. Consequently, Mr. Walker was a leading man in the community, and one who was most highly respected. His wealth was estimated at $2,500,000.

When Major McKinley returned to Canton after the war, and determined to study law, he soon found himself in need of money. It was not a difficult task for him to obtain it, for he had a reputation for integrity, and he had the assurance that any financial obligation he contracted would be discharged to the utmost farthing. It was not strange, therefore, in view of the long acquaintance between Major McKinley and

Mr. Walker, and the differences in their circumstances, that he should turn to Mr. Walker for assistance. It was immediately forthcoming, and was repaid in good time. Subsequently, when fully launched on his political career, Major McKinley had need for money. The campaign expenses during his first race for congress were heavy, and there was a mortgage on some of his wife's property which had to be paid. In these straits Major McKinley secured a loan of $2,000 from Mr. Walker. This loan was paid within two years, out of his salary as congressman, and from time to time other loans were made to him. Major McKinley's income was practically $5,000 a year—his salary as a congressman. He may have had an occasional fee as a lawyer, but it was nothing he could count on. His expenses, largely on account of the illness of Mrs. McKinley, were heavy, and swallowed up his salary. To meet his campaign assessments during the early part of his career, he had to borrow money, and Mr. Walker was usually the man to furnish it. After Major McKinley had attained fame in congress, no more campaign assessments were levied upon him, and, being, an abstemious and studious man, not at all given to social display, he managed to accumulate about $20,000, which was invested in real estate and securities. His chief real estate possession was his modest home in Canton.

In the early part of 1893, Mr. Walker informed Governor McKinley that he was greatly in need of money, and asked that he endorse certain notes. These notes Mr. Walker proposed to have discounted. The governor did not think it necessary to inquire into or investigate the affairs of Mr. Walker. It was enough that his friend—the man who had stood by him in time of need—wanted assistance, and he rendered it.

The governor endorsed, as he supposed, about $15,000 worth of Mr. Walker's paper, and dismissed the matter from his mind. The notes were made payable in thirty, sixty, and ninety days, and the governor's endorsement made them easily negotiable.

February 17, 1893, Mr. Walker's affairs went to ruin. An assignment was made by Mr. Walker, and Youngstown was astonished beyond measure at the news. The failure of the Youngstown Stamping Company to meet a judgment for $12,000 caused the assignment, and the next day the other Walker enterprises were engulfed in ruin. Efforts were begun at once, by commercial agencies and newspapers, to learn the extent of the failure. Banks began to dig up their Walker paper, and soon the governor began to receive dispatches from various parts of the state concerning notes which he had endorsed. He had an engagement to attend a banquet of the Ohio Society in New York at this time, but he canceled it and went at once to Youngstown. There he ascertained that instead of having endorsed $15,000 worth of paper

for his friend, he was liable for nearly $100,000. He had been led to believe, also, that the notes had been discounted in but three banks, but now it appeared many banks had them, and the governor was dumbfounded. He held a conference with his friends, and told them that fully one-half the notes he had endorsed were made out to take up old notes that he had endorsed, and which had not been paid. Investigation showed that the old notes were still outstanding, and that the new notes added to the liabilities, until the original debt had been quintupled. Mr. Walker's liabilities were about $200,000, and his assets not one-half that sum. The governor was not interested, financially, in any of Mr. Walker's enterprises.

The conference with his Youngstown friends was an earnest one, and various ways of meeting the situation were suggested. At the conclusion of the meeting, the governor said: "I can hardly believe this, but it appears to be true. I don't know what my liabilities are, but whatever I owe shall be paid, dollar for dollar." He at once proceeded to put this resolution into effect. Mrs. McKinley owned property valued at $75,000, which had been left by her father. On the 22d of February, five days after the assignment of Mr. Walker, the governor and his wife made an unqualified assignment of all their property to trustees, to be used, without preference, for the equal benefit of their creditors. The trustees were: H. H. Kohlsaat, of Chicago; Myron T. Herrick, of Cleveland, and Judge Wm. R. Day, of Canton.

Mrs. McKinley was urged by friends to retain an interest in her property, but she declined to do so. Instead she turned it all over to Mark A. Hanna, of Cleveland, to go toward liquidating the claims against her husband. Governor McKinley, when asked at this time for an explanation of the situation, said:

"I did what I could to help a friend who had befriended me. The result is known. I had no interest in any of the enterprises Mr. Walker was carrying. The amount of my endorsements is in excess of anything I dreamed. There is but one thing for me to do—one thing I would do—meet this unlooked for burden as best I can. I have this day placed all my property in the hands of trustees, to be used to pay my debts. It will be insufficient, but I will execute notes and pay them as fast as I can. I shall retire from politics, take up the practice of law, and begin all over again."

His friends, however, had no intention of allowing him to do anything of the kind. Already the Chicago Inter-Ocean had started a fund to relieve the governor of his liabilities, and money was rapidly pouring in from those who sympathized with him. Governor McKinley, however, refused to accept this expression of good feeling. He forbade

the paper to continue to receive money, and returned that taken in to the subscribers.

Then some of his friends determined to raise a fund by private subscription, and pay the governor's debts. The men who undertook to do this were: M. A. Hanna, and Myron T. Herrick, of Cleveland; P. D. Armour, Marshall Field, and H. H. Kohlsaat, of Chicago; and Bellamy Stover and Thomas McDougall, of Cincinnati. The fund was managed by Mr. Kohlsaat, who afterwards said of the matter:

"One of the chief reasons why the subscription plan was adopted was because a number of subscriptions were received anonymously and could not be returned. There were over 4,000 subscriptions sent in, and when the last piece of paper was taken up, bearing Major McKinley's name, no more subscriptions were received, and some were returned. No list of the subscribers was kept, and Governor McKinley does not know to this day, with the possible exception of four or five names, who contributed the money.

"When Governor McKinley saw the publication of the subscription scheme he wrote to me absolutely declining to receive a dollar. Mr. Hanna and his other friends told him to leave the matter alone, for if his friends wished to assist him they should have the privilege."

Myron T. Herrick was treasurer of the fund, and took up the paper as fast as it was presented. When the indebtedness had all been repaid, the trustees deeded back to Governor and Mrs. McKinley the property they had been so willing to sacrifice to preserve the governor's credit. The incident cannot be considered as a reflection on the business ability of Governor McKinley. He did what almost any man would have done under like circumstances, and when he found his confidence had been betrayed, he prepared to do all in his power to prevent any one from suffering through an act of his.

LOYALTY TO HIS FRIENDS.

No episode in all Major McKinley's career shines out more clearly than his high sense of honor as evinced in his devotion to the interests of his political friends in national conventions. At no time did he allow ambition to mislead him, though there were times when he must have been sorely tempted. That he was in line for the nomination for the presidency he must have known, and felt, but there is nowhere evidence of his self-seeking. He went to conventions instructed to do certain things, or pledged to certain interests, and all the glory and honor the world had to offer could not have induced him to betray the trust reposed in him.

The Ohio republican state convention of 1884 was held at Cleve-

land, in April. Major McKinley went to Cleveland fresh from a tariff debate in congress, and was made permanent chairman of the convention. The Blaine following manifestly was in the majority at the convention, but the Sherman men had the best organization, and most of the "old-time" politicians of the state were pronouncedly in favor of the Ohio senator. The great struggle at the convention was on the election of four delegates-at-large. Although it was well understood that Foraker's first choice was Sherman, the Blaine men generously acquiesced in his election by acclamation as a delegate-at-large. A number of names were then presented for the remaining three places, and a sensation was created when one delegate mounted a chair and nominated Major McKinley.

Major McKinley from his place as presiding officer thanked the convention, but said that he could not allow his name to go before it at this time, as he had promised that he would not allow his name to be used while the names of certain candidates were before the convention. The uproar became tumultuous. A majority of the delegates were plainly in favor of the election of Major McKinley by acclamation, although there was some objection. One of the delegates, assuming the prerogatives of the chair, put the motion, and declared it carried. Major McKinley ruled that the motion had not prevailed. General Grosvenor mounted the platform and the second time put the motion and declared it carried.

Again Major McKinley ruled that the motion had not prevailed and insisted on the vote being taken on the names already submitted, excluding his own. Once more General Grosvenor arose—this time to a point of order. He insisted that Major McKinley had been elected by acclamation, and that the convention had now to elect two more delegates-at-large. The chair overruled the point of order, and amid tumultuous confusion ordered the balloting to go on. A delegate arose and asked the convention to consider Major McKinley as having been put in nomination, despite his declination. At this there were thunders of cheers. From early in the balloting it was evident that Major McKinley was bound to be elected. Counties that had favored other candidates abandoned them and voted solidly for the Major. After between 300 and 400 votes had been cast for Major McKinley and it was recognized by everybody that he had already been elected, a motion was made that he be elected by acclamation. Further contest was stopped, and Major McKinley was elected a delegate-at-large by acclamation.

In the national convention at Chicago Major McKinley bore himself modestly, but his great quality of leadership came to the front by force of circumstances. He only spoke two or three times from the floor of

the convention, but every time he arose he attracted attention, and the influence he exerted was remarkable. At the critical time during the convention his was the voice that rallied the Blaine forces. Three ballots had been taken. Blaine gained on each ballot. The final and desperate effort was made by the other candidate under the lead of the dashing Foraker, in Sherman's behalf, for an adjournment. There was pandemonium, and there threatened to be a panic.

In the midst of the storm Major McKinley arose. He waved his hand and the tumult ceased. Calm and like granite he stood the master spirit of the convention. His short speech was carried in clarion tones all over the immense hall. As a friend of Blaine, he said, he recognized and respected the rights of the friends of other candidates to secure an adjournment, and concluded:

The excitement in the convention hall had become intense. Theodore Roosevelt, the youthful New Yorker, who came finally, in opposition to his wishes, to be associated with Major McKinley on a presidential ticket; George W. Curtis, the editor of Harper's Weekly, and others, were on chairs yelling to be heard. General Henderson, of Missouri, the chairman, was trying to quell the tumult, and the massive and phlegmatic Dutcher, of New York, one of President Arthur's adherents, was trying with might and main to secure recognition from the chair.

In the midst of the confusion Major McKinley arose. Though not a tall man, he seemed to tower above those around him. His face was pale, like a piece of marble statuary, except that his eyes fairly blazed. In clarion tones his voice rang out, and the tumult ceased. It was evident that he was the dominating spirit of that convention. For a moment he stood like a splendid granite column, and then, silence having been secured, said that, as a friend of Blaine, he respected the rights of the other candidates to secure an adjournment. He did not say he favored an adjournment, but added:

"Let the motion be put and let everybody favorable to the nomination of Blaine vote against it."

That settled it. Under Major McKinley's leadership, assumed spontaneously and boldly, the Blaine men accepted the challenge, the motion for an adjournment was voted down, and the victory was won. It was not defeat that Major McKinley turned aside—the situation was not so serious as that—but in a crisis, when the Blaine men were getting demoralized and the convention was turning itself into a mob, the Major, leaping to the front, by one command marshaled the Blaine men into line and pressed them forward to their already sighted victory. Major McKinley was chairman of the committee on resolutions at that conven-

tion, and when he appeared to read the platform he received an ovation that was one of the features of that great event.

Major McKinley's next appearance at a republican national convention was in 1888, and this time he came at the head of the Ohio delegation, and in John Sherman's behalf. At this convention no candidate had been able to secure a majority. Sherman, Alger, Allison, Harrison, Gresham, and Depew, all had a strong following, but none was near a nomination. Major McKinley, at the head of the Ohio delegation, instructed to vote solidly for Sherman, was one of the heroes of the convention. His entrance at each session was greeted with the wildest enthusiasm. Day and night he was at work among the various state delegations, laboring to secure votes for Ohio's great financier. On the sixth ballot a delegate voted for William McKinley, and was greeted by cheers which swelled again and again before silence could be restored. The next state that was called cast seventeen votes for Major McKinley, and again the cheers broke forth. The drift was unmistakably setting toward McKinley like an ocean tide.

Everyone expected to see the Garfield nomination of 1880 repeated. But they were disappointed. The roll call was interrupted by the Major, who, leaping upon a chair at the end of the middle aisle, pale, but calm and determined, uttered a speech which, unpremeditated as it was, has seldom been surpassed for eloquence, candor and unselfish loyalty. In it he declared his inability to be a candidate with honor to himself, and proclaimed his unswerving loyalty to the Ohio chieftain. The tide was turned. On the seventh ballot Benjamin Harrison was named, but McKinley went home to Ohio stronger than ever in the hearts of his fellow men.

Some time before the republican national convention of 1892, held in Minneapolis, Minn., June 7, Governor McKinley had privately and publicly expressed himself as in favor of the renomination of President Harrison. Having committed himself, the governor stood by his declaration. He was elected a delegate-at-large as a Harrison man, and the understanding was that Ohio would vote solidly for the President's nomination.

The convention elected Governor McKinley its permanent chairman. R. M. Nevin, of Dayton, was his alternate. Before he took the chair as presiding officer the governor specifically charged Mr. Nevin to vote for Harrison. Only one vote was taken on the nomination for president. When Ohio was called ex-Governor Foraker said Ohio asked time for a consultation, and after a pause the vote of the state was announced as: Harrison, 2 votes; William McKinley, 44. Chairman McKinley immediately sprang from his seat and shouted:

"I challenge the vote of Ohio!"

A brief and animated debate then ensued between ex-Governor Foraker and Governor McKinley, in which Foraker told the chairman that he had ceased to be a member of the Ohio delegation on assuming the post of presiding officer, and could not be recognized. Finally a roll call of the Ohio delegation was ordered, and this resulted, McKinley, 45; Harrison, 1. The only vote for Harrison cast by the Ohio delegation was that cast by Governor McKinley's alternate. President Harrison was renominated on the first and only ballot, but the governor had 182 votes cast for him despite the fact that he was not a candidate. At the conclusion of the balloting Governor McKinley took the floor and moved that the president's nomination be made unanimous, and the motion carried. The governor was chosen chairman of the commission that officially notified the president of his nomination.

The result of the campaign of 1892 was a surprise to both the leading political parties. Grover Cleveland, the democratic candidate for president, was elected, and both the house and senate had large democratic majorities. The political revolution was remarkable, and was largely due to the populist movement, and to fusion between the populists and democrats in the south and west. The clamor for the free coinage of silver, at the ratio of 16 to 1, and the industrial depression which set in in 1893, brought Governor McKinley into the public eye as the man calculated to restore prosperity to the country. Meanwhile he adhered strictly to his duties as governor of Ohio.

CHAPTER IX.

Great Campaign of 1894.

The years 1893 and 1894 were years of sore trial to the people of the United States. The incoming of a democratic administration and the fear that the tariff would be again overhauled had frightened timid people. Other influences combined to augment the general distrust, and soon a panic ensued, which was widespread, and devastating in its effects.

Corporations were pushed to the wall, banks closed their doors, solvent firms sought refuge in the hands of receivers, great financial institutions resorted to extraordinary combinations in the hope of stemming the almost resistless tide, the people took alarm and drained the savings banks of their deposits, orders for merchandise and commodities stopped, and whole communities of wage-earners were discharged from mines, mills, factories and workshops.

In the face of financial gloom and despair, the financiers, the business men, the captains of industry, exhibited courage, determination and the highest order of patriotism. They risked their fortunes in the effort to stem the current rapidly running against them. They stood in the ranks with angry and panic-stricken men and women and pointed out the folly of withdrawing money from sound and well-managed banks. They kept open their mills and factories until forced to close for want of orders. They, by their enterprise, forced a return of some gold to our shores. The tide of calamity following the advent of the democratic party to power at one time bade fair to engulf the business interests of the nation.

Labor, likewise, acted heroically. Reduction of wages was accepted. Factories went on half time without a protest from the employees, and thousands daily joined the mournful army of the unemployed with the cherished hope that a few weeks would bring about better times. Here and there the cry went up for bread or work, and at such gatherings the socialistic spirit naturally came to the front. The hundreds of thousands, however, suddenly emerging from a long period of prosperity, did not feel at once the pinch of poverty. They were peaceable and hopeful, and, like the business men of the country, turned to the

party in power for some remedy—to the party which promised so much to the wage-earner.

And what was the remedy offered? In the late summer of 1894 a tariff bill was passed which deepened the shade in the picture above given. It brought about greater suspense in our industries. It filled with uncertainty every branch of industry and trade. In fact, millions of anxious, careworn American citizens who had looked for statesman-like action found only indifference and incapacity both in the law and the methods employed to secure its passage. Nothing was being done to turn the tide and relieve the people. With no steady, courageous hand and comprehensive brain at the helm, national legislation had drifted into an uncertainty that bewildered even the friends of the administration. At this crisis the calm wisdom, vast experience, infinite industrial knowledge and courageous determination of William McKinley was called for by the people of the United States in the most unmistakable manner. It does not detract from the achievements or reputation of any other contemporary republican leaders to say that there never was in time of peace such a universal demand for a statesman, and it is doubtful if there ever was another such campaign as that which McKinley opened in September, 1894.

In this man, merely the governor of one of our forty-four states, the people recognized a statesman of courage and action. He was in touch with the labor and with the industrial and the financial interests of the country. In such an emergency they could rely upon his advice being sound and for the good of the country. It is said by those who know, that there was not a state in the north at this crisis in the nation's history that did not clamor for McKinley. The Ohio republican state committee was almost in despair at the demands that came for McKinley's time. Every county in Ohio wanted him to speak in it, and it was a physical impossibility for the committee to meet the demands and requests which poured in upon it. He was not only wanted because of his pleasing personality and earnest devotion to the republican party, but because he of all others was best able to crystallize the sentiment of protection and win the country back again to the American system, under which the nation was prosperous and the people contented and happy.

In commenting on this campaign, Mr. Samuel G. McClure, who was with McKinley part of the time, says: "It is a simple statement of facts to say that the tours made by McKinley in the past seven weeks have no parallel in American political history. The swings around the circle made by Presidents Cleveland and Harrison are the only journeys in recent years which may be compared to them, and they were not in any strict sense of the word political at all. The desire to see the chief exe-

cutive of the nation in both of these cases and to do him honor were the great moving causes that prompted display and large attendance. But in the tours which McKinley made, the official function was entirely absent. In its stead was the wish to honor the greatest exponent of a great cause and to hear the tariff discussed by its master. On the part of McKinley it was very far from a matter of self-seeking. For years he has always been at the service of the republican party whenever it saw fit to command him and it was in his power to comply. He had made remarkable tours before this one, and in each instance at the request of the committee where he was called to speak. This was conspicuously the case this year.

"The combined tours far exceeded the distance half round the world. It is one of the marvels of the man that he was able to undergo all the fatigue which this immense feat implies, and yet close the campaign in as good health as when he began and without having lost a pound in weight. Very often he was the last of the little party to retire, and almost invariably he was the first to rise. He seemed tireless, and every state committee in the Mississippi valley and beyond it apparently took it for granted that the gallant champion of 'patriotism, protection and prosperity' could not be over-worked. When he consented to make one speech for them, they forthwith arranged half a dozen short stops en route, and kept him talking almost constantly from daybreak till late at night. He agreed to make forty-six set speeches in all during the campaign, and when he had concluded he had not only made them, but had spoken at no less than 325 other points as well. For over eight weeks he averaged better than seven speeches a day. At least two of these daily were to large audiences where he was compelled to talk for an hour or more. The others varied from ten minutes to half an hour in length, and were frequently addressed to crowds of five thousand people. On several occasions, as the special train was hurrying him along, he was called out for a talk before he had breakfasted, and would find to his surprise that one, two or three thousand persons had gathered at that early hour to see and hear him. It was not McKinley who sought all this, it was the people who sought McKinley.

"It did not require any great perception to discover that the glowing accounts which the press associations carried about his meetings were in fact modest and moderate narratives of what transpired daily. The correspondents were expected to give non-partisan accounts, and did so, though some of the democratic papers, which were served by the press associations, were growling at what they assumed was the exaggeration the correspondents were guilty of. The fact is, the meetings were not overdrawn in the least. If anything, the press narratives did

not do them full justice, simply because to have done so would have called forth general protests from the democratic papers and the charge that the accounts were highly colored. It is not strange that this should be the case. No one who was not with McKinley part or all of the time can form an adequate conception of the enthusiasm and interest with which he was received in all parts of the nation. It had to be seen to be realized."

Another graphic story of this campaign was told by Harry Miner, the correspondent of the Cincinnati *Times-Star,* who accompanied Governor McKinley. Said Mr. Miner:

"Governor McKinley is winding up what has been, perhaps, the most remarkable political campaigning tour made by any man in this country. He has spoken in sixteen states, namely, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Kentucky, Louisiana, West Virginia, Tennessee, Pennsylvania and New York. He has made as many as twenty-three speeches in one day, most of them, of course, being short. It has been estimated by those who have been with him that he has addressed two million people.

"The audiences which have flocked to hear McKinley have been enormous. In many places the crowds that went to hear him were the largest ever gathered in those places upon any occasion.

"People traveled for great distances to hear him. At Lincoln, Neb., there were among his hearers 500 cowboys who had ridden ninety miles on their mustangs for the sole purpose of hearing protection's chief exponent. At St. Paul there were several men in the audience who came 300 miles from their homes in Dakota to hear him speak, and at Huntington, West Virginia, a man traveled 200 miles to hear McKinley's speech.

"It is probable that the largest meeting was at Hutchinson, Kansas, where the number of outsiders was estimated at not less than 30,000, coming from Texas, Nebraska, Missouri, Oklahoma and Indian Territory. In the Eastern States the crowds were very large, but perhaps not quite so much so as in the Western States. It is estimated that the crowd at Albany numbered not less than 10,000 persons. At Utica, Syracuse and Philadelphia many thousands were turned away from the doors of the large halls, and huge as the crowd was it was not so large as the crowd outside, which was not even able to get inside of the doors.

"It was a good deal easier for McKinley to talk to audiences this year on political issues than it was two years ago. These great popular demonstrations would seem to indicate two things—that McKinley is respected, confided in and admired by the people of the country, and that the people want to know about protection. Before he was telling

the people what would happen; now he was telling them how to undo what they had already done. His prophecy of two years before has been proved by events to be correct.

"It would hardly be fair to accuse the committees that had charge of McKinley of being unfeeling, but it is certainly true that they worked him like a horse, or more properly speaking, like that tireless and amiable animal, the uncomplaining mule. From the moment that a state committee laid hands on him they worked him without cessation, making him get up at six o'clock in the morning, take a bite of breakfast and rush out and make a speech, and then keep on making speeches until late at night. No word of complaint ever came from McKinley, but he was most awfully tired out. But once did he say anything which indicated that he felt he was being overworked. He addressed two immense meetings in Syracuse, N. Y., finishing his last speech shortly after ten o'clock. His train was not to leave until eleven, and on his way to the hotel after the last meeting he turned to the Mayor and expressed assumed surprise that he was to be allowed to waste a full hour which he might have put in in making another speech. The Mayor was not familiar with McKinley's dry humor and hastened to apologize for not having arranged a third meeting.

"However, the next night at Philadelphia, McKinley had a chance to make three speeches, and did so.

"McKinley found a queer feature of political campaigning in the South. Political meetings there are usually held on Sunday. The reason for this is that men in the country districts are adverse to losing a day's time from their work and demand that political stumpers shall do their talking on the Sabbath day. McKinley was asked to make a few speeches in Mississippi and Alabama on Sunday, while returning from New Orleans, but he gently declined, of course."

One of the most interesting of these meetings was that held at New Orleans, in October. The Protectionists of that state had been clamorous for Governor McKinley's services, but had been repeatedly refused by the Ohio State Committee. Finally a representative came to plead the case, and consent was given, the Governor's dates in Ohio being canceled. His trip through the South was an ovation. Enthusiastic crowds greeted him all along the line, and at several places he spoke briefly. The meeting in New Orleans was held in an immense amphitheater accommodating more than 12,000 people. It was packed to the doors by an audience that was assuredly anxious to be enlightened. The New Orleans *Picayune*, a radical Democratic newspaper, gave the following account of the affair:

"McKinley appears a little under middle height, and this defect of

under size is increased by the exceeding squareness and solidity both of form and face. His forehead, smooth and white, overhangs eyes deep-set under bushy eyebrows of jet black. He has a trick, when asking a question, of lifting those eyebrows so that the latent fire in his eyes flashes forth suddenly and sharp. His mouth is mobile, the face clean shaven, the hair thin on the top and straggling to the coat collar in innumerable fine points.

"McKinley looks very like the pictures which have of late been liberally distributed throughout the city.

"In speaking, McKinley has few but effective gestures, the chief of which is a sort of reiterated hammering into space, as though driving a nail into the atmosphere. Though the Auditorium arena is wonderfully large, McKinley's voice filled it easily. And it is a voice in itself singularly rich in the variety of inflection and emphasis, deriving an added zest from the western drawl and mannerism still clinging to it.

"Considered simply a forensic display, McKinley's speech was exceedingly interesting. The exquisite art with which he evaded all the topics which, such as the Force bill, might have touched his audience too nearly, was admirable. His array of argument was marshaled with the skill of a practical debater, presenting with marvelous ability an epitome of the republican philosophy of politics.

"It was but natural that, in addressing an audience so thoroughly Southern, Mr. McKinley should lay special emphasis on the part which the South had played in the history of tariff legislation. As he delineated the origin of the republican tariff through the effort of Southern statesmen, the applause was fairly indescribable. From the gallery a voice cried out: 'Give it to them, McKinley; give it to them.' A burst of laughter attended this ejaculation, but the orator never smiled. He mopped the perspiration from his forehead, and while the din continued refreshed his memory from his notes. The applause again became uproarious when, a few moments later, he declared that the burden of the present administration, 'with its free trade laws,' was the greatest burden the people had borne for thirty years.

"Nor did the audience fail to respond when, by a ready object lesson, the speaker illustrated the operation of the tariff in relation to the manufacture of glass tumblers. 'Every tumbler imported,' he said, 'represents the displacement of a tumbler of domestic manufacture. If you cut the tariff on glass and expect to receive an increased revenue, the importation must be redoubled. Is that what you want?'

"And the vast assembly fairly went wild for five minutes.

"Again, when the governor declared that the displacement of an American laborer meant the cessation of his wages, a voice cried out:

MARK HANNA

" 'The result is starvation.'

With a ready answer, McKinley replied:

" 'Like the people everywhere, are you ready to vote?'

"From the benches immediately in front, one of the charcoal delegation responded: 'Vote for you;' and another supplemented with, 'Vote for you for the next presidency.'

"Soon after the democratic element was heard from. The governor said: 'They said we had a splendid prosperity under President Cleveland in his first administration; so we had.' 'Hear, hear,' mingled with cheers, rose loudly from the Old Guard.

" 'And do you know why?'

" 'No,' from a voice in the gallery.

" 'Because all Cleveland did was to execute the republican laws already in existence.'

"And the republicans cheered.

" 'War and treason,' resumed McKinley, 'are the words of President Cleveland. He is a peace man in war; a war man in peace.'

"Great laughter followed this declaration. Under cover of it, Governor McKinley asked Mr. Ferris the time. Cries immediately arose, 'Go on, go on.' 'We can wait till tomorrow morning to hear that.'

" 'Why is it,' asked the orator a moment later; 'why is it that amid all the resources of the land we are suffering?'

"(A voice, 'Why is it?')

" 'I can answer in a word. The democrats are running the government, and nothing else is running. Every industry is practically stopped; no man can calculate the loss to the people of this country in investment, property, wages. We have been at school. It has been a universal, a sort of compulsory education, from the benefits of which none have been excluded. (Laughter and applause.) While the tuition has been free, the ultimate cost has been very great. (Laughter.) We have been blessed with experience if we haven't been blessed with anything else.' (Laughter and prolonged applause.)

"Then followed the most dramatic scene of the evening. Mr. McKinley had hitherto confined himself to an analysis in general terms of issues affecting all sections of the country alike. Said the orator: 'What party has taken from you the protection that the Republicans gave?'

" 'The Democrats,' cried an excited voice. 'D—n them.'

" 'When we framed the law of 1890,' declared the governor, 'we undertook to frame a bill based on the principles of protection. We permitted everything to come in free which we could not or did not produce.'

" 'Enough of that,' cried a voice. 'Give us the Force bill.'

"A good many people were anxious to hear McKinley on that subject, and for a moment absolute silence reigned. A committeeman whispered to him: 'He calls for something about the Force bill.'

"'I cannot be diverted from this discussion,' said Mr. McKinley, looking around and speaking in his loudest voice. 'If any proper question be put to me I will endeavor to reply as best I can. (Wild applause.) I believe in the purest and fairest debate on all public questions, and in my public life or my private record I have nothing to conceal.'

"And that appeal, so eloquent, so ingenious, captured his hearers, and the last great burst of applause followed. When the cheers ceased to ring, Mr. McKinley, turning first to one side and then to the other, so as to address comprehensively the entire assembly, delivered the eloquent peroration which, expressing the determination of the party to discharge by Louisiana its duties no less sacredly than by Ohio, closed his great effort."

CHAPTER X.

Nominated for President.

When Governor McKinley retired from the office of chief executive of the state of Ohio, in 1895, he returned to his home at Canton, there to live quietly. The great campaign of 1894 had brought him so close to the people, however, and so filled them with confidence in his ability, that his name was soon mentioned everywhere throughout the land for the presidency. His modest home at Canton was filled with people seeking his advice, and with politicians who were planning events for the future.

There was a plethora of republican presidential timber in the country, but no name mentioned invoked the enthusiasm among the people that McKinley's did. Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, ex-speaker of the house, and one of the most prominent men in the party, not only because of his ability, but because of the notoriety acquired in his contest to dominate the democratic minority in the house, was a candidate. William B. Allison, United States Senator from Iowa, and a man of wide experience and great ability, had a following, and there were still those who asked that John Sherman, the old Roman from Ohio, be given a chance. Levi P. Morton, of New York, vice-president under Harrison, and Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, were also in the lists.

The conditions at that time were unusual. Not only was the tariff fight on again in all its intensity, but the democrats and a portion of the republicans had become imbued with the "silver craze" advocated by some of the leaders of both parties in the west. The doctrine that the people needed more money, and that more money meant higher prices of commodities, was preached widely. Before any effort was made by the Republicans to counteract this teaching, it had been spread all through the west and south by means of books and pamphlets. The silver mine owners wanted their silver coined, and their argument that this government could coin silver as freely as it did gold, without disturbing values, was a specious one, and caught the fancy of many people.

"Times were hard"—an old story, and any measure that promised relief was eagerly clutched at by those upon whom the burden of poverty rested. William McKinley had been before the people, not as a

candidate for president, but as the ardent advocate of measures that intelligent persons thought more of national prosperity than of partisan politics. The quick-seeing people had heard and read of his plans for redeeming the country and casting off its burden of distress, "Hard Times," and this had brought the tide of public favor and endorsement. For weeks before the convention the republican public had been shouting McKinley, and in a tone that could not be ignored. The voice and the force of the people pressed hard upon the convention. The newspapers teemed with his praise, his face and record were constantly being presented; buttons bearing his portrait, and mottoes that epitomized his principles were seen everywhere, in city, town and country, and thousands who had been, theretofore, but little interested in politics became enthusiastic champions of the man from Ohio.

It was evident before the convention that a battle would have to be fought before any candidate was nominated. The "silver republicans," as they were called had determined to commit the party, if possible, to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. With the democrats, they had resurrected the cry of "the crime of '73," and were universally condemning the repeal of the Sherman act, which stopped the purchase of silver by the government.

The convention was held in St. Louis, Tuesday, June 16, 1896, the gathering place being a huge auditorium, capable of seating many thousands of people. Hon. Thomas Henry Carter, chairman of the republican national committee, called the convention to order about 12:30 o'clock.

For the first time in the history of national conventions, the opening prayer was made by an Israelite, in the person of Rabbi Samuel Sale, pastor of the Shaare Emeth congregation. His invocation was devout, and, at its close, the secretary read the call issued by the national committee for the convention. Chairman Carter then presented the name of Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana as temporary chairman. No voice was raised in opposition, and the tall, slender man, with close-cropped beard and mustache, came forward and delivered an address that was frequently interrupted by applause. It was an arraignment of the democratic administration for its many shortcomings, and an argument that the prosperity of the country at large could be secured only by the adoption of the principles of the republican party. Sound currency, protection, sympathy for Cuba, and the certainty that the candidates about to be named would be the next president and vice-president of the United States, were the principal features of Chairman Fairbanks' speech, which was received with many expressions of approval. At its conclusion the necessary officials of the convention were ap-

pointed, the members of the various committees announced, and, after a session of less than two hours, an adjournment was had to 10 o'clock Wednesday.

Between the adjournment and the coming together on the morrow, much effective work was done. While the sentiment of the delegates was overwhelmingly in favor of "sound currency," or the single gold standard, there was a diversity of opinion in many quarters as to whether the word "gold" should be used in the platform. A considerable number thought the latter was sufficiently explicit without the word, but the insistence of others compelled a yielding of the point: it was decided that the all-potent word should appear. Since adjournment Mr. Hanna has asserted that the gold plank was agreed upon by him or his associates before the arrival of the delegates from the East, who were popularly credited with the formulation of the clause in question.

The convention reassembled at a quarter to eleven on Wednesday, and was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. W. G. Williams, after which the real work began. The report of the committee on permanent organization presented the name of Senator J. N. Thurston, of Nebraska, as chairman, made the secretaries, sergeant-at-arms and other temporary officers permanent officers of the convention, and gave a list of vice-presidents, consisting of one from each state.

Awaiting the report of the committee on credentials the convention adjourned until 2 o'clock, and at 3 that afternoon Chairman Thurston called the body to order. Bishop Arnet of Ohio offered the opening prayer and Mr. M. B. Madden of Chicago presented to the chairman a gavel made from timber of a house in which Abraham Lincoln once lived. Another gavel, carved from the homestead of Henry Clay, "The Father of Protection," was also presented.

The committee on credentials then presented majority and minority reports, the former of which favored the seating of the Higgins delegates and those at large from Delaware as against the Addicks delegates, and the seating of the list of Texas delegates, which was headed by John Grant. After a warm discussion the majority report was adopted by the vote of 545½ to 359½. This vote was considered a test one between McKinley and his opponents and removed all doubts of the invincibility of the Ohio man.

The full committee on resolutions met at the Lindell Hotel in the evening and went into secret session. The proposed platform was read by paragraphs, the agreement being that each paragraph should be voted on separately. There was unanimous accord upon the tariff plank and the sugar plank was accepted. A strong declaration was formulated

for a protective duty on wools and woolens and a demand made for the protection of American shipbuilding and the development of American commerce.

When the financial plank was reached Senator Teller of Colorado presented a minority report which declared in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Mr. Teller, with deep emotion, declared that the time had come when, if the single gold standard was adopted, he should be compelled to leave the party with which he had been associated for thirty-five years. There was much sympathy felt for this able leader, whose association with the republican party had earned for him the respect of political foes as well as friends. Mr. Cannon of Utah was hardly less agitated when he announced a decision similar to that of Teller, and Mr. Dubois of Idaho declared that, much as he regretted the step, he would follow Messrs. Teller and Cannon. Then, after earnest argument, Mr. Hartman of Montana said that he never would support a candidate upon the proposed platform.

The substitute of Senator Teller received ten votes, which included the delegates from Colorado, California, Utah, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, Nevada, North Carolina and New Mexico. The substitute was defeated by forty-one votes. After further discussion, the gold plank, as it appears in the platform, was adopted by a vote of yeas, 40, nays 11, the member from Oklahoma having joined the silver men.

The convention came together on Thursday morning, only five minutes late, with all of the delegates in their seats, and the galleries packed to suffocation, many ladies being among the spectators. Rev. John R. Scott of Florida, a negro, opened with a brief and appropriate prayer.

The first order of business was the reception of the report of the committee on resolutions. Senator-elect Foraker of Ohio was cheered as he advanced to the platform and said: "As chairman of the committee on resolutions, I have the honor to report as follows:"

He then read the platform in a clear, ringing voice and with distinct enunciation. He emphasized the endorsement of President Harrison, and was applauded, and when, in a loud voice and with impressive manner, he declared: "The republican party is unreservedly for sound money," the applause was greater than ever, it rising to a still more enthusiastic pitch when the pledge to promote international agreement for free coinage of silver was read. Mr. Foraker was compelled to stop reading and the applause continued so long that the chairman rapped repeatedly for order.

The demand for American control of the Hawaiian Islands was warmly approved, but the convention remained mum over the proposed

building of the Nicaragua canal by the United States and the purchase of the Danish Islands for a naval station. If any enthusiasm was felt in that direction it did not manifest itself. But the sympathy of the people found ardent expression when the Cuban paragraph was read, dropping again to zero over the civil service plank. The negro delegates applauded noisily the demand for a free ballot and the condemnation of lynching.

It took twenty-five minutes for the reading of the platform, during which the convention gave close attention, breaking out again into cheers at the close. When the tumult had subsided, Mr. Foraker moved the adoption of the report as the national platform for 1896.

As Mr. Foraker reached the closing paragraph of the report Senator Teller left his place with the Colorado delegation and took his seat on the platform. He was recognized by the chairman and sent to the secretary's desk and had read the following minority report: "We, the undersigned members of the committee on resolutions, being unable to agree with that part of the majority report which treats of the subjects of coinage and finance, respectfully submit the following paragraph as a substitute therefor:

"The republican party favors the use of both gold and silver as equal standard money, and pledges its power to secure the free, unrestricted and independent coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of 16 part of silver to 1 of gold."

Senator Teller then advanced to the front of the platform to utter his "farewell." The universal respect felt for him was shown by the cordial greeting of the twelve thousand people, who saw that the distinguished gentleman was almost overcome with emotion. It may be doubted whether there was one in that immense assemblage who did not feel a sincere sympathy for the man who was taking the most painful step of his public career.

He asserted that we might as well have two flags in the nation, if the present money system is to be maintained, for the reason that two flags are not more important than this all-absorbing question of gold and silver money. He declared that he was not actuated by the fact that Colorado is a silver-producing state, but he had come to the earnest conclusion, after twenty years of study, that bimetallism is the only safe money doctrine for the United States and all other countries.

Senator Teller insisted that a protective tariff could not be maintained on a gold standard, and then, with uplifted hands, declared: "When God Almighty made these two metals, He intended them for use as money."

The senator said that the years of study which he had devoted to

this question had brought convictions to him which were binding upon his conscience, and it was because he was an honest man that he could not support the gold money plank. The declaration was received with cheers and hisses, and moisture gathered in the eyes of the speaker as he looked out over the sea of faces and felt that he had at last reached the parting of the ways. Then the tears coursed down his cheeks and his handkerchief went to his eyes. The sight caused a respectful hush to fall over the convention, while more than one friend wept in silent sympathy.

Recovering himself, Senator Teller declared that the best thoughts of the world favored bimetallism, and it was advocated by the greatest teachers of political economy in Europe.

"Do you suppose," he asked, "that we can take this step and leave the party without distress? Take any methods you please to nominate your man, but put him upon the right platform, and I will support him. I was for free men, free speech, and a free government. I was with the republican party when it was born. I have become accustomed to abuse, but I have voted for every republican candidate since the foundation of the party, and I have been in close communication with its distinguished men for forty years."

At this point, Senator Teller broke down again. The tears streamed over his face and he was greatly distressed. In a broken voice he added:

"But if I am to leave the republican party, I do not leave it in anger. I believe that my doctrine is for the good of the people. I believe that the republican party will see the error of its way, and, although I may never be permitted again to address a republican national convention, I shall live in the hope that before I die this great party will come to a thorough understanding of the silver question and treat it solemnly and with the keenest interest in support of all the people."

The vote to lay Senator Teller's motion on the table disclosed an interesting state of facts. It was supported by seven friends in Alabama, fifteen in California, his eight delegates of Colorado, two from Florida, three from Georgia, the six from Idaho, and one from Illinois. In addition, his plank received the following support: Kansas, four votes; Michigan, one; Missouri, one; Montana, six; Nevada, six; South Carolina, fourteen and one-half; South Dakota, two; Tennessee, one; Utah, six; Virginia, five; Wyoming, six; and in the Territories: Arizona, six; New Mexico, three, and Oklahoma, one, making one hundred and five and one-half votes in all. The vote for the majority report was eight hundred and eighteen and one-half.

Senator Teller, who was still on the platform, asked permission

from the chairman to introduce Senator Cannon of Utah, who desired to read a statement from the silver men. The manner of Senator Cannon was defiant and quickly stirred up impatience. He declared he would bow to the majority in the matter of votes, but would never bow when a question of principle was at stake. He said they would withdraw from the convention, and he predicted trouble in the future for the republican party. This was greeted with hisses and urgent requests for him to sit down. In the midst of the storm, the chairman turned to Senator Cannon and shouted: "The republican party do not fear any declaration."

This threw the convention into a tumult of enthusiasm. Men sprang to their feet, swung flags and shouted at the top of their voices. Senator Cannon calmly awaited the subsidence of the storm, when he continued with his generalities, and read the list of free silver men who would leave the convention. The names of the signers were greeted with hisses, and some one in the rear called out, "Good-by, my lover, good-by," as Senator Teller and his associates filed out of the hall, marching down the main aisle. The whole convention was again on its feet yelling, waving flags, hats and fans, while the band played patriotic airs and the assemblage sang the chorus, "Three Cheers for the Red, White and Blue."

The silver delegates who withdrew were Congressman Hartman, of Montana; Senator Cannon, Congressman Allen and Delegate Thomas Kearns, of Utah; Senator Pettigrew, of South Dakota; Delegates Cleveland Strother, of Nevada; the entire Idaho delegation of six, headed by Senator Dubois; the whole Colorado delegation of eight, including Senator Teller, the total number of bolters being twenty-one, including four senators and two representatives.

Waiting until the excitement had subsided, the chairman announced in deliberate fashion: "Gentlemen of the Convention, there seem to be enough delegates left to do business. (Great cheering.) The chair now asks that a gentleman from Montana who did not go out"—cheers drowned the rest of the sentence, and cries were made for Lee Mantle, who was asked to come to the platform, but declined.

On the call of states for nominations for the presidency, the first response was from Iowa. R. M. Baldwin, of Council Bluffs, nominated Senator W. B. Allison, in a glowing tribute to Senator Allison's worth and services.

Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, in a speech of characteristic eloquence, nominated Hon. Thomas B. Reed.

Hon. Chauncey M. Depew received a warm welcome as he made his way to the platform to nominate Governor Levi P Morton, of New York state, which he did in his usual felicitous style of speech.

Then came the call of Ohio. Amid intense interest and expectation Governor Foraker went to the platform and when silence had been obtained he said:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: It would be exceedingly difficult, if not entirely impossible, to exaggerate the disagreeable situation of the last four years. The grand aggregate of the multitudinous bad results of a democratic national administration may be summed up as one stupendous disaster. It has been a disaster, however, not without, at least, this one redeeming feature—that it has been fair; nobody has escaped. (Loud laughter.) * * * *

"If we make no mistake here, the democratic party will go out of power on the 4th day of March, 1897 (applause), to remain out of power until God, in His infinite wisdom and mercy and goodness, shall see fit once more to chastise His people. (Loud laughter and applause.)

"So far we have not made any mistake. We have adopted a platform which, notwithstanding the scene witnessed in this hall this morning, meets the demands and expectations of the American people.

"It remains for us now, as the last crowning act of our work, to meet again that same expectation in the nomination of our candidates. What is that expectation? What is it that the people want? They want as their candidate something more than 'a good business man' (an allusion to Mr. Depew's characterization of Governor Morton). They want something more than a popular leader. They want something more than a wise and patriotic statesman. They want a man who embodies in himself not only all these essential qualifications, but those, in addition, which, in the highest possible degree, typify in name, in character, in record, in ambition, in purpose, the exact opposite of all that is signified and represented by that free-trade, deficit-making, bond-issuing, labor-assassinating, democratic administration. (Cheers.) I stand here to present to this convention such a man. His name is William McKinley."

At this point pandemonium was let loose, and the convention gave up to unrestrained yelling, cheering, horn-blowing, whistling, cat-calling and all the other devices common to such occasions.

After at least twelve minutes of this kind of proceeding the chair began to rap for a restoration of order, but without avail.

Senator-elect Foraker stood during all this wild scene smiling his approval. Mr. Hepburn, of Iowa, had in the meantime been called to the chair by Senator Thurston, but just when he had nearly restored order, Mrs. H. W. R. Strong, of California, who had presented some of the plumes that were waving in honor of Ohio's choice, made her

appearance on the floor, waving one of them, and another uncontrollable outbreak occurred. During the interval of confusion, a three-quarter face, life-size sculptured bust of McKinley was presented to Mr. Foraker by the republican club of the University of Chicago. The portrait was in a mahogany frame, decorated with red, white and blue ribbons, and with a bow of maroon-colored ribbons forming the colors of the university. The portrait was the work of Harris Hirsch, and was presented by Dr. Lisston H. Montgomery, of Chicago, with a letter signed by H. L. Ickes, president of the club. It was accepted by Senator-elect Foraker in dumb show.

After twenty-five minutes of incessant turmoil Mr. Foraker was allowed to resume his speech.

He spoke of the great champions of republicanism in the past, eulogizing Mr. Blaine particularly, and continued:

"But, greatest of all, measured by present requirements, is the leader of the house of representatives, the author of the McKinley bill, which gave to labor its richest awards. No other name so completely meets the requirements of the occasion, and no other name so absolutely commands all hearts. The shafts of envy and malice and slander and libel and detraction that have been aimed at him lie broken and harmless at his feet. The quiver is empty, and he is untouched. That is because the people know him, trust him, believe him, and will not permit any human power to disparage him unjustly in their estimation.

"They know that he is an American of Americans. They know that he is just and able and brave, and they want him for president of the United States. (Applause.) They have already shown it—not in this or that state, nor in this or that section, but in all the states and in all the sections from ocean to ocean, and from the Gulf to the Lakes. They expect of you to give them a chance to vote for him. It is our duty to do it. If we discharge that duty we will give joy to their hearts, enthusiasm to their souls and triumphant victory to our cause. (Applause.) And he, in turn, will give us an administration under which the country will enter on a new era of prosperity at home and of glory and honor abroad, by all these tokens of the present and all these promises of the future. In the name of the forty-six delegates of Ohio, I submit his claim to your consideration." (More applause.)

The high-water mark of enthusiasm was reached when Senator Thurston rose to second the nomination of McKinley, which he did in eloquent and forceful words.

In the midst of cries of "vote," Governor Hastings placed in nomination Matthew Stanley Quay, at the conclusion of which, amid a profound hush, the convention began balloting for a nominee for president of the United States.

Alabama led off with 1 for Morton and 19 for McKinley, Arkansas and California following with a solid vote for McKinley. Connecticut gave 5 for Reed and 7 for McKinley; Delaware, its full vote for McKinley; Florida, 8 for McKinley; Georgia, 2 for Reed, 2 for Quay, and 22 for McKinley.

When all of the states had been called, the chairman stated, before the announcement of the result, that application had been made to him for recognition by delegates of the defeated candidates to make a certain motion. He thought it the fairest way to recognize them in the order in which the nominations had been made. He then announced that William McKinley had received 661½ votes.

Before the chairman could get any further, the enthusiasm of the convention broke all bounds. Every man was on his feet, shouting, hurrahing, cheering, swinging hats and canes in the air, waving flags and banners and the pampas plumes of California, while through the Niagara-like rush and roar were caught the notes of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," as the band played with might and main in its attempt to gain the mastery of the cyclone. The women, if possible, were more frantic than the men. Parasols, fans, opera-glasses, gloves—anything, everything—were compelled to help in the magnificent burst of enthusiasm which swept over and submerged all alike, until it looked as if order could never again be evolved from the swirling pandemonium.

Finally, after a long, long time, the chairman gained a chance to complete the announcement of the vote. It was: Thomas B. Reed, 84½; Senator Quay, 61½; Levi P. Morton, 58; Senator Allison, 35½, and Don Cameron, 1.

Senator Lodge, rising in his delegation, in a forceful speech moved to make the nomination of Mr. McKinley unanimous. Mr. Hastings, of Pennsylvania, who had nominated Quay, seconded the motion, as did Thomas C. Platt on behalf of New York, Mr. Henderson of Iowa, and J. Madison Vance of Louisiana. In answer to loud calls Mr. Depew mounted his chair in the back of the room, where the rays of the sun beamed on his countenance, which itself was beaming with good humor, and delivered a short and characteristically humorous speech.

The chair then put the question, "Shall the nomination be made unanimous?" and by a rising vote it was so ordered, and the chair announced that Mr. William McKinley of Ohio was the candidate of the republican party for president of the United States.

The convention completed its work by the nomination of Garrett A. Hobart, of New Jersey, for the office of vice-president.

CHAPTER XI.

First Presidential Campaign.

Governor McKinley was formally apprised of his nomination for the presidency June 29 by the committee appointed by the convention. Governor McKinley received the committee on the veranda of his home. The streets about the house were filled with people, men, women and children, who listened with great interest to the proceedings. Senator Thurston, of Nebraska, speaking for the committee, informed the governor of the honor the convention had conferred upon him, and said:

"We respectfully request your acceptance of this nomination and your approval of the declaration of the principles adopted by the convention. We assure you that you are the unanimous choice of a united party, and your candidacy will be immediately accepted by the country as an absolute guarantee of the republican success.

"Your nomination has been made in obedience to popular demand, whose universality and spontaneity attest the affection and confidence of the plain people of the United States. By common consent you are their champion. Their mighty uprising in your behalf emphasizes the sincerity of their conversion to the cardinal principles of protection and reciprocity as best exemplified in that splendid congressional act which bears your name. * * *

"But your nomination means more than the indorsement of a protective tariff, of reciprocity, of sound money, and of honest finance, for all of which you have so steadfastly stood. It means an endorsement of your heroic youth, your faithful years of arduous public services, your sterling patriotism, your stalwart Americanism, your Christian character, and the purity, fidelity and simplicity of your private life. In all these things you are the typical American; for all of these things you are the chosen leader of the people. God give you strength so to bear the honor and meet the duties of that great office for which you are now nominated, and to which you will be elected, that your administration will enhance the dignity and power and glory of this republic and secure the safety, welfare and happiness of its liberty-loving people."

In his reply to Senator Thurston, Governor McKinley said:

"To be selected as their presidential candidate by a great party

convention, representing so vast a number of the people of the United States, is a most distinguished honor, for which I would not conceal my high appreciation, although deeply sensible of the great responsibilities of the trust, and my inability to bear them without the generous and constant support of my fellow countrymen. Great as is the honor conferred, equally arduous and important is the duty imposed, and in accepting the one I assume the other, relying upon the patriotic devotion of the people to the best interests of our beloved country, and the sustaining care and aid of Him without whose support all we do is empty and vain.

"Should the people ratify the choice of the great convention for which you speak, my only aim will be to promote the public good, which in America is always the good of the greatest number, the honor of our country, and the welfare of the people."

He then discussed the questions to be settled by the election, and concluded as follows:

"The platform adopted by the republican national convention has received my careful consideration, and has my unqualified approval. It is a matter of gratification to me, as I am sure it must be to you and republicans everywhere, and to all our people, that the expressions of its declarations of principles are so direct, clear and emphatic. They are too plain and positive to leave any chance for doubt or question as to their purport and meaning. But you will not expect me to discuss its provisions at length, or in detail at this time. It will, however, be my duty and pleasure, at some future day, to make to you, and through you to the great party you represent, a more formal acceptance of the nomination tendered me.

"No one could be more profoundly grateful than I for the manifestation of public confidence of which you have so eloquently spoken. It shall be my aim to attest this appreciation by an unsparing devotion to what I esteem the best interests of the people, and in this work I ask the counsel and support of you, gentlemen, and of every other friend of the country. The generous expressions with which you, sir, convey the official notice of my nomination are highly appreciated, and as fully reciprocated, and I thank you, and your associates of the notification committee, and the great party and convention at whose instance you come, for the high and exceptional distinction bestowed upon me."

His letter of acceptance which followed some weeks later was a masterly document, and clearly indicated the study he had given to all the great questions then agitating the minds of the people.

Though not in accordance with the forms and ceremonies, the campaign was already opened. For months the people had been discussing

the silver question, and 16 to 1 was heard on every side. The tariff had seemingly disappeared as an issue, and everybody was interested in the theory—not new, but freshly agitated—that all the people needed to insure prosperity was more money per capita.

Sentiment was rapidly crystallizing when the democratic national convention was held. The populists had already held their convention and nominated William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, on a platform demanding free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and other things too numerous to mention. The silver craze had spread through the rank and file of the democratic party so fully that it was seen that the national convention would be committed to the doctrine. Many of the eastern democrats protested against such action, and the forcing it upon the convention resulted in a split, the bolters taking the name of "Gold Democrats," and putting a national ticket in the field. The democratic national convention was held in Chicago, in the Coliseum. Mr. Bryan came to the convention as a delegate, and a pronounced champion of the silver theory. He was still a democrat, and had not accepted the nomination tendered him by the populists. Neither had he been regarded as a prominent candidate for the presidency. He was young, and there were wheel-horses in the party to be rewarded. "Silver Dick," as the Hon. Richard P. Bland, of Missouri, was called, because of his long defense of silver in the house of representatives as a money metal, was one of the most formidable candidates, and Governor Horace Boies, who had succeeded in winning the republican state of Iowa for the democrats, also had a large following. But Mr. Bryan had already achieved fame as an orator, and during the convention he took the platform and made a most brilliant speech in favor of the free coinage of silver. The address so electrified the convention that delegation after delegation voted for Mr. Bryan when the balloting began, and before the roll call was finished it was seen that he was nominated.

Following the nomination of Mr. Bryan began a campaign the like of which had perhaps never been seen in any country. It was full of spectacular features, and there was more eloquence to the square inch than had ever been known before. Everybody turned speech-maker, and few places were regarded as too sacred, and few moments as improper, in which to discuss the momentous questions. On the streets, in railway cars, on steamboats, in hotels, stores, factories, and at the family board the great question was threshed out. The excitement was intense. On both sides the people believed a crisis had arrived. The republicans declared the election of Mr. Bryan meant repudiation of obligations, ruin and national dishonor. The democrats retorted that there could be no repudiation in sticking to the money of the con-

stitution and the argument was so apparently conclusive that the republicans became alarmed. It was found that the silver belief was fully grounded—the people of the great West seemed impressed with the idea that more money would make times better, and more money could easily be coined. The government had practically ceased under the Cleveland administration to purchase silver bullion. The mines of Colorado, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Montana, and other sections, could produce the metal in abundance, and for the government to coin it into money would produce the supply of money necessary to relieve the stringency.

Such arguments appealed to those who felt the pinch of poverty, and the republicans found it necessary to send their best and most eloquent speakers into the field, in order to counteract the influence of the silver advocates. Printing presses throughout the land were set to work to print pamphlets and tracts to explode the democratic doctrine, and great discs of base metal were cast to show how much silver at the prevailing price would have to go into a dollar, to make it the equivalent of a gold dollar. The bullion value of the silver in a dollar was at that time about 50 cents, and the object lesson had its effect upon certain minds.

As indicative of the arguments used by the leading orators during the campaign, the following examples are given:

Congressman Joseph C. Sibley, of Pennsylvania, one of the prominent Eastern men who supported the doctrine of free coinage of silver, said in one of his speeches:

"Silver is the only stable standard of values, maintaining at all times its parity with every article of production except gold. The ounce of silver, degraded by infamous legislation from its normal mintage value of 1.2929 an ounce to about 60 cents, has kept its parity with the ton of pig iron, the pound of nails, and all the products of our iron mills. The ounce of silver has maintained its parity with the barrel of petroleum, with granite blocks, with kiln-burnt bricks. With lumber growing scarcer year by year it still keeps its parity. It is at parity with the ton of coal; with the mower, reaper, thresher, the grain drill, the hoe, and the spade. Silver at 1.2929 and beef at 7 cents per pound in the farmer's field has kept its parity, and the ounce of silver at 60 cents buys today beef at 2 cents per pound on foot. The pound of cotton and the ounce of silver have never lost their level. No surer has the sun indicated on the dial the hour of the day than has the ounce of silver shown the value of the pound of cotton. As surely as the moon has given high or low tide, just so surely has the ounce of silver given the high and low tide prices of wheat. The ounce of silver has main-

UNITED STATES SENATOR WILLIAM E. MASON.

tained its parity with your railway dividends, with the earnings in your shops and factories, in all departments of effort.

"If parity with gold is demanded, and the secretary of the treasury construes the law to mean whenever demanded to pay gold, then let us maintain the parity by reducing the number of grains in the gold dollar from 23.22 grains pure gold to 15 grains, or to such number of grains as will keep it at parity. While we may wrong by so doing the creditor class, through the increased value of the products of human industry, we must remember that for every one creditor there are a thousand debtors; and we should remember that the aim of the government is the greatest good to the greatest number, and also the minimum amount of evil. But no such drastic measure is necessary. Parity may be maintained and every declaration of governmental policy fully met by accepting for all dues, public and private, including duties upon imports, silver and paper issues of the nation of every description whatsoever.

"In all the gold-standard nations destitution and misery prevail. With great standing armies in Europe outbreaks are not of frequent occurrence, and yet one rarely peruses his paper without reading of these outbreaks. In Nebraska and Kansas, the land of wheat and corn, we read of starving households; even in Ohio appeals are sent out for the relief of thousands of starving miners, and yet men have the temerity to tell us that the evils arise from overproduction.

"Men tell us that there is an overproduction of silver, and that its price had diminished in comparison with gold because of its great relative increase. Such statements are not only misleading, but absolutely false. Figures show that in 1600 we produced 27 tons of silver to 1 ton of gold; in 1700, 34 tons of silver to 1 ton of gold; in 1800, 32 tons of silver to 1 ton of gold; in 1848, 31 tons of silver to 1 ton of gold; while in 1880 the production of silver had declined until we produced 18 tons of silver to 1 ton of gold; and in 1890 but 18 tons of silver to 1 ton of gold; and that, instead of the ratio of coinage being increased above 16 to 1, if relative production of the two metals is to determine the ratio, then the ratio should have been diminished rather than increased, and confirms the fact that merely the denial of mintage upon terms of equality with gold is responsible for all depreciation in the value of silver bullion.

"All the silver in the world today can be put in a room sixty-six feet in each dimension, and all the gold can be melted into a cube of 18 or 20 feet. There are today less than twenty-five millions of bar silver in all Europe. Mr. St. John, the eminent banker of New York, has stated that there was not over five millions of silver that could be made available to send to our mints. Begin to coin silver to the full capacity of

our mints, and we would have to coin it for twenty years before giving to each inhabitant a per capita circulation that France, the most prosperous nation in the world today, possesses.

"The struggle today is between the debtor and creditor classes. With one-half the world's money of final account destroyed, the creditor can demand twice as much of the product of your field, your shop, and your enterprise and labor for his dues. In this struggle between debtor and creditor the latter has taken undue advantage and by legislation doubled and trebled the volume of debt. For example, suppose you had given a note to your neighbor promising to pay, one year after date, 1,500 bushels of wheat. You thresh the grain, measure it into the bin, and notify your creditor that the wheat is at his disposal. He goes to the granary, sacks the wheat, and then brings up your notes and states, 'I have taken 500 bushels, which I have endorsed on your note. I will call on you for the balance when next year's crop is harvested.' You say: 'Why did you not take all the wheat and let me make full payment?' The note-holder answers: 'I did take all the wheat, and there were only 500 bushels in the bin instead of 1,500.'

You fail to understand how that can be possible. You know that you threshed out and measured into that bin 1,500 bushels of wheat. You go to the granary and find that it is true. No wheat is there, but there appears to be an enormous lot of wheat upon those wagons for 500 bushels, and you ask the note-holder: 'Who measured this wheat? and let me see how you measured it.' You see something in the form of a measure about as large as a washtub, and you ask him what that is. He tells you that is the half-bushel measure with which he measured your wheat; but you reply: 'My dear sir, that holds more than half a bushel; that measure will hold six pecks.' He answers: 'Correct, it does hold six pecks, but it now takes twelve pecks to make a bushel, instead of four pecks. Together with other friends who had wheat coming to us we went before the committee on coinage, weights and measures and secured the passage of a legislative enactment that it should require twelve pecks instead of four pecks to make a bushel. We have secured this legislation for the proper protection of the holders of wheat obligations, for our own security, and for fear that we should became timid and lose confidence in your ability to pay unless we changed the standard of measure.' But you reply: 'Sir, we who have obligations maturing, contracts long standing, have never asked or consented to the enactment of such legislation. Our representatives in congress never permitted us to understand that any such legislation was pending.' He replies: 'Sir, you might have known it had you desired to do so, or had you kept yourself as well posted in legislative affairs as do the holders of

obligations calling for products of the soil for payment. We have our representatives in congress. We reward them for their fidelity to our interests; we punish them for fidelity to yours.'

"This, in my judgment, is not a far-fetched illustration, but depicts the exact condition against which production today protests. The debtor's obligation, true, does not call for wheat in specific terms. It calls for dollars, but by legislation we have made the dollar three times as large in purchasing power or in measuring values as it was before. We talk about gold being the only money of intrinsic value, and attempt to befog and mystify the masses by telling them that it has intrinsic value, when its value is merely the artificial product of legislation.

"Enact a law, to be rigidly enforced, providing that no meat of any kind, whether 'fish, flesh or fowl,' except mutton, shall be used for food. What will be the intrinsic value of your beef cattle, of your swine, your poultry, and your fish tomorrow? The mutton-headed monometallists would tell you that the great increase in the value of mutton was because of its intrinsic worth. Let this nation and the commercial nations of the globe enact a law tomorrow, that neither cotton, nor silk, nor fabric should be used for clothing or covering, forbid the factories of the world to spin or weave aught but wool, and what will be the intrinsic value of cotton or silk thereafter? Wool will be king; its value will be enhanced, but cotton, hemp, and silk will be as valueless as weeds or as gossamer webs.

"With the mints open to free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver there has never been a moment when silver has not maintained its parity with gold, and a ratio of 16 to 1 commanded a premium of more than 3 per cent over gold. And if, by some fortunate discoveries to-morrow, gold should be found in great quantities sufficient to lessen the income of the annuitant, the bondholding, or the fixed-income class, there would arise a demand for the demonetization of gold and the establishment of the pearl, ruby, or diamond standard of values. Whatever standard can bring to grasping hands and greedy hearts the most of the toil, the sweat, and unrequited efforts of his fellowman, this standard will be demanded by the representatives of greed, and must be resisted by those who represent humanity and Christianity."

United States Senator Julius C. Burrows, of Michigan, in replying to the free coinage argument, said:

"Coin silver dollars at the ratio of 16 to 1 or 20 to 1 and you have a dollar intrinsically worth less than the gold dollar, and coin such a dollar as that—permit the owners of silver bullion to bring to the mints of the United States, and have manufactured into dollars, a certain num-

ber of grains, worth in bullion much less than after they are coined, is a proposition to which I cannot give my assent.

"But it has been stated and repeatedly asserted that the present silver dollar is the 'dollar of the fathers.' That statement is not true. It is not the 'dollar of the fathers,' and the fathers if living would repudiate such an assumption as a reflection upon their integrity and sagacity. The silver dollar of the fathers was intended to be and was in fact practically equal to the gold dollar in intrinsic value.

"This contest for the free coinage of silver began in 1874, and it has been prosecuted with unceasing vigor ever since. Why? Up to that time the silver dollar was worth more, intrinsically, than the gold dollar, being worth in 1873 $1.03 as compared with gold.

"Up to that time the coinage of silver dollars in this country had been very limited. One would think from the tenor of this discussion that all at once a great outrage had been perpetrated upon silver, that it had been stricken from our monetary system at a blow, by the force of law, when the fact is that from 1793 to 1805, a period of twelve years, we coined but 1,439,517 silver dollars. From 1806 to 1836, a period of thirty years, we did not coin a single silver dollar. From 1836 to 1873, a period of thirty-seven years, we coined only 6,606,321 silver dollars. In eighty years we only coined a total of 8,045,838 silver dollars. So long as silver remained more valuable than gold there was no clamor for the free coinage of silver, but in 1878, when resumption was an assured fact, and the people had decreed that they would keep faith with their creditors and pay their unredeemed promises, then the champions of cheap money turned their attention to silver, finding it had declined in value from $1.03 in 1873 to $0.89 in 1878.

"The battle is now renewed under the plea of bimetallism, and the advocates of the free coinage of silver seek to delude the people by asserting that they are in favor of bimetallism while its opponents are not. We have bimetallism to-day.

"The free and unlimited coinage of silver at any of the ratios named will destroy bimetallism and will reduce this country to a single standard, that of silver, and that depreciated, and I am suspicious that for this very reason some gentlemen are anxious for its triumph. The opening of the mints of the United States to the unrestricted minting for individuals of silver into legal dollars at any ratio to gold less than the commercial value of both metals, under the pretense of aiding the cause of bimetallism or for the purpose of establishing or maintaining bimetallism in the United States, is simply playing upon the sentiment and credulity of the American people.

Mr. Bryan toured the country during the campaign, and spoke in all

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Assassinated in 1865

sections of the country. He went into the eastern states, where the opponents of the free silver doctrine were strongest and made numerous speeches, but did the most of his work in the south and west. His fame as an orator drew thousands to hear him, and under the spell of his eloquence millions were brought to believe with him. When the campaign was well under way, and the Republican leaders had in a measure checked the spread of the free silver doctrine, they put forward again the doctrine of a protective tariff, and declared it to be the real issue before the people, and its maintenance necessary to the renewed prosperity of the nation.

Governor McKinley remained at his home in Canton during the exciting summer of 1896 and there received the homage of hundreds of thousands of his fellow citizens. People of all ages and classes visited him and day after day he made speeches to those who asked for light. He exhibited his wonderful familiarity with the concerns of the people, by pointed remarks touching the welfare of every interest that sought his advice, and proved that the people had made no mistake in their estimate of him.

The result of the election was, McKinley, 7,061,142 votes; Bryan, 6,460,677. In the electoral college McKinley had 271 votes and Bryan 176.

Senator Hanna, who had managed the campaign, gave the following description of it in a speech before the Union Club at Cleveland:

"Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen of the Union Club—I have a great feeling of relief tonight. Such a feeling of relief and joy as I never had before, and I never was so happy as I am tonight. (Cries of "so are we," and applause.) My friends, this comes very near to being an anniversary. About two years ago—not quite that long—I began my work of devotion and love to our chief. Two years ago I took from him my inspiration. When he laid upon me that confidence which he left and said to me, 'My friend, I trust you with my future,' he also said, 'Mark, there are some things I will not do to be president of the United States (applause and cheers), and I leave my honor in your hands.' And from that day, nearly two years ago, began this campaign.

"It was rather quiet at first (laughter), what the boys are likely to call 'a still hunt,' but it is true that it had its birthday nearly two years ago today. I embarked upon that duty with a full heart for a man whom I loved because I had learned to respect and honor him. It was a mission of love inspired by that noble character which has no peer in the world. (Tremendous applause). I will not weary you with an account of details of the early stages of that campaign. I

called to aid men who had known the effect of Maj. McKinley's magnetism and who loved and admired him even as I did, and the territory in which I found them was not bounded by Ohio, but reached from the Atlantic to the Pacific. (Applause.) Scores and hundreds of men who loved him as I did rallied with McKinley as the word on their lips and their country their prayer. (Applause and cries of 'good, good.') The next epoch was that wonderful convention at St. Louis, where McKinley received 661 votes. I believe those figures are right. You all read of its marvelous scenes. When I took that charge of McKinley's honor I swore to my Maker that I would return it unsullied. (Applause and cheers). And when I returned from that memorable convention, proud and satisfied with the work his friends had done, I went to Canton and laid my report at the feet of my chieftain, and I said to him, 'McKinley, I have not forgotten the trust and I bring it back without a blot and not a single promise to redeem.' I think I have a right to feel proud of that (cheers and applause) because in the succession of the administration from Lincoln's time to the present era no man ever enjoyed that privilege before. (Tremendous applause.)

"Then began the battle royal. The Chicago convention flung forth an edict which shackled the nation and almost prostrated the country. Following that came that grand wave of inspiration from McKinley. His name and all he stood for was the battle cry from that time on. Never before was such a battle waged. It was against an unknown, unseen enemy, which faced us under cover on every side, but before us was McKinley's name, and every eye was fixed on it, and every heart was bound to it as to a guiding star. (Tremendous applause.)

"There were dark days. There were days when even the best men in the country lost faith in its government. And why? Because, as I said, the enemy was an unseen one, and the blows it was striking were blows at the very foundations of this government. And they did not know the inner workings of our part of the campaign. When I left New York to come to Cleveland to vote for my friend William McKinley (applause and cheers), I looked out of the car window in the early dawn and I saw the sun rise, and that sentiment of Garfield's (applause and cheers) came to me, 'God reigns' (tremendous cheering), and on the following day I was reminded of that sentiment of friend Handy here, that a rainbow spanned the continent. I cast my vote, and then I hied me again to Canton and I said to its foremost citizen: 'Governor, that honor and that escutcheon which you confided to me are still untarnished. You haven't a promise to redeem.' (Cheers for several moments.)

"And now I rejoice with you all that the great campaign has ended in glory and in peace. I can't explain to you what impelled me to enter on this labor, leaving all my other interests here at home, except to say that it was my love for this great man. I had been with him in the conventions of '84, '88 and '92, and I knew of their trials and their temptations, and it was then that I learned to know the heart and character of William McKinley. (Applause.) It was then that he brushed aside all except the future and said: 'I will not stultify my character for any reward on earth!'"

CHAPTER XII.

President of the United States.

William McKinley was inaugurated president of the United States March 4, 1897. His inaugural address, like all of his previous public utterances, was dignified, clear and exhaustive. He pointed out the wants of the country, and pledged himself to meet them as far as possible. His cabinet was composed of the following eminent men:

Secretary of State—Hon. John Sherman, of Ohio.
Secretary of the Treasury—Hon. Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois.
Secretary of War—Hon. Russell A. Alger, of Michigan.
Secretary of the Interior—Hon. Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York.
Secretary of the Navy—Hon. John D. Long, of Massachusetts.
Postmaster General—Hon. James A. Gary, of Maryland.
Attorney General—Hon. Joseph McKenna, of California.

Secretary Sherman resigned in 1897, on account of ill-health, and Judge William R. Day, of Ohio, an old friend of the president's, was appointed to succeed him. Judge Day subsequently resigned to become head of the peace commission appointed to arrange for the termination of the Spanish-American war, and Hon. John Hay, formerly minister to England, succeeded him. Judge McKenna, attorney general, also resigned in 1897, and Hon. John W. Griggs was appointed his successor. In 1898 Postmaster General Gary resigned and Hon. Charles Emory Smith, of Pennsylvania, became his successor. Russell A. Alger, secretary of war, tendered his resignation in 1899 and Hon. Elihu Root, of New York, succeeded him.

More American history was made during President McKinley's first term of office than in any preceding administration since the day the martyred Lincoln ceased his work.

In the light of the present, to undertake to pronounce upon the permanent character of all the acts of the administration would be to assume superior wisdom. But if the voice of the people is to be relied upon as the voice of God, then, assuredly President McKinley was wise beyond ordinary men, for the people promptly and decisively, when the time came, sanctioned his acts. The Spanish war and its results was the main feature of his first year's work. It grew out

of the oppression of the people of Cuba by Spain. The Cubans had been for years in arms against the Spaniards, and the people were worn out with the struggle. Constantly they appealed to the people of the United States to aid them in their struggle, and the people—not the government—responded. Spain took offense at this and urged the government of the United States to prevent munitions of war and other supplies being supplied to the Cubans. The Spaniards were absolutely unable to crush the independent spirit of the Cubans. Finally, in 1897, when the island was a scene of awful desolation, the sufferings of American citizens in Cuba became so great that congress at a special session, appropriated $50,000 for their relief. Here was further cause for complaint on the part of Spain. War grew out of the situation, but as the matter will be fully treated of elsewhere it will not be further alluded to here. The passage of the "sound money" law, placing the country on a gold basis and in line with the other leading nations of the earth, was accomplished and many other things, which may be best told briefly in the words of Senator Hanna in his Union Club speech, in which he said:

"President McKinley's administration brought about a more prompt readjustment of the tariff, to accord with the views of the party which elected him to office, than any preceding administration, and in this case it was accomplished under peculiarly embarrassing and difficult conditions, by reason of the well known fact that his own party did not have a clear majority in one branch of congress—the senate. President McKinley was inaugurated on March 4, 1897, and immediately called congress to meet in special session on March 15. In his message to that congress he called attention to the excessive importations and the lack of revenues, and said: 'Congress should promptly correct the existing conditions. Ample revenues must be supplied, not only for the ordinary expenses of the government, but for the prompt payment of liberal pensions and the liquidation of the principal and interest of the public debt. In raising revenues, duties should be levied upon foreign products so as to preserve the home market so far as possible to our own producers; to revive and increase manufactures; to relieve and encourage agriculture; to increase our domestic and foreign commerce; to aid and develop mining and building, and to render to labor in every field the useful occupation, the liberal wages and the adequate rewards to which skill and industry are justly entitled. The necessity of a tariff law which shall provide ample revenue need not be further urged. The imperative demand of the hour is the prompt enactment of such a measure, and to this object I earnestly recommend that congress shall make every endeavor.'

"This recommendation was promptly complied with. Congress met on March 15, and on that day a tariff bill was introduced in the house; on March 19 it was reported from the committee on ways and means; the debate began on March 22, and on March 31 the bill passed the republican house and was sent to the senate, which, after making some amendments, passed the measure on July 7.

"The bill was then sent to the conference committee and became a law on July 24, 143 days from the date of President McKinley's inauguration. This was less time than was occupied in the enactment of any tariff legislation since the days of Washington, whose first tariff measure consumed about two months, being, of course, very brief. Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, J. Q. Adams, Jackson, William H. Harrison, Polk, Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln, Grant, Arthur, Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland all signed tariff bills, but none of them became laws in so short a time as did the Dingley law. Cleveland's second term, with his own party in control of both branches of congress, did not witness the completion of its tariff measure until nearly eighteen months after his inauguration.

"Regarding the war with Spain and its results, the facts are so well known as to need little discussion in detail. No war of such results was ever waged with so little loss of life. In the campaign which resulted in the rescue of Cuba from her oppressors and in the addition of Porto Rico to the territory of the United States, fewer lives were lost upon the battlefield than were lost in the United States during the peaceful celebration of the Fourth of July, 1899.

"In like manner the financial record of the administration may be best described by a quotation from the president's special message to congress on July 24, 1897:

" 'Nothing was settled more clearly at the late national election than the determination upon the part of the people to keep their currency stable in value and equal to that of the most advanced nations of the world.

" 'The soundness of our currency is nowhere questioned. No loss can occur to its holders. It is the system which should be simplified and strengthened, keeping our money just as good as it is now with less expense to the government and the people.

" 'The sentiment of the country is strongly in favor of early action by congress in this direction, to revise our currency laws and remove them from partisan contention. A notable assembly of business men with delegates from twenty-nine states and territories was held at Indianapolis in January of this year. The financial situation commanded their earnest attention and, after a two-day session, the convention recommend to congress the appointment of a monetary commission.

"I commend this report to the consideration of congress. The authors of the report recommend a commission 'to make a thorough investigation of the monetary affairs and needs of this country in all relations and aspects, and to make proper suggestions as to any evils found to exist and the remedies therefor.

" 'This subject should receive the attention of congress at its special session. It ought not to be postponed until the regular session.

" 'I, therefore, urgently recommend that a special commission be created, non-partisan in its character, to be composed of well informed citizens of different parties, who will command the confidence of congress and the country because of their special fitness for the work, whose duty it shall be to make recommendations of whatever changes in our present banking and currency laws may be found necessary and expedient, and to report their conclusions on or before the first day of November next, in order that the same may be transmitted by me to congress for its consideration at its first regular session.'

"This committee was appointed, worked during the summer recess and the result of its deliberations was the present law.

"To summarize, the results of the first McKinley administration were:

"The Dingley tariff.
"The sound money law.
"The war with Spain.
"The annexation of Porto Rico, the Philippines and Guam.
"The annexation of Hawaii.
"The annexation of Tutuila.
"The organization of Cuba."

CHAPTER XIII.

The President's Own Story of the Spanish War.

No more admirable presentation of all of the incidents leading up to the Spanish war, or of the results of that event, has been made than that of President McKinley himself, in his second annual message to congress. In that document he said:

"Military service under a common flag and for a righteous cause has strengthened the national spirit and served to cement more closely than ever the fraternal bonds between every section of the country.

"In my annual message very full consideration was given to the question of the duty of the government of the United States toward Spain and the Cuban insurrection as being by far the most important problem with which we were then called upon to deal. The considerations then advanced, and the exposition of the views then expressed, disclosed my sense of the extreme gravity of the situation.

SPAIN GIVEN TIME TO SETTLE TROUBLE.

"Setting aside, as logically unfounded or practically inadmissible, the recognition of the Cuban insurgents as belligerents, the recognition of the independence of Cuba, neutral intervention to end the war by imposing a rational compromise between the contestants, intervention in favor of one or the other party, and forcible annexation of the islands, I concluded it was honestly due to our friendly relations with Spain that she should be given a reasonable chance to realize her expectations of reform, to which she had become irrevocably committed. Within a few weeks previously she had announced comprehensive plans, which it was confidently asserted would be efficacious to remedy the evils so deeply affecting our own country, so injurious to the true interests of the mother country as well as to those of Cuba, and so repugnant to the universal sentiment of humanity.

"The ensuing month brought little sign of real progress toward the pacification of Cuba. The autonomous administration set up in the capital and some of the principal cities appeared not to gain the favor of the inhabitants nor to be able to extend their influence to the large extent of territory held by the insurgents, while the military arm, obviously unable to cope with the still active rebellion, continued many of the

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD

Assassinated in 1881

most objectionable and offensive policies of the government that had preceded it.

"No tangible relief was afforded the vast numbers of unhappy reconcentrados, despite the reiterated professions made in that regard and the amount appropriated by Spain to that end. The proffered expedient of zones of cultivation proved illusory. Indeed, no less practical nor more delusive promises of succor could well have been tendered to the exhausted and destitute people, stripped of all that made life and home dear and herded in a strange region among unsympathetic strangers hardly less necessitous than themselves.

"By the end of December the mortality among them had frightfully increased. Conservative estimates from Spanish sources placed the deaths among these distressed people at over 40 per cent from the time General Weyler's decree of reconcentration was enforced. With the acquiescence of the Spanish authorities a scheme was adopted for relief by charitable contributions raised in this country and distributed, under the direction of the consul general and the several consuls, by noble and earnest individual effort through the organized agencies of the American Red Cross. Thousands of lives were thus saved, but many thousands more were inaccessible to such forms of aid.

'The war continued on the old footing, without comprehensive plan, developing only the same spasmodic encounters, barren of strategic result, that had marked the course of the earlier Ten Years' rebellion as well as the present insurrection from its start. No alternative save physical exhaustion of either combatant, and therewithal the practical ruin of the island, lay in sight, but how far distant no one could venture to conjecture.

DESTRUCTION OF THE MAINE.

"At this juncture, on the 15th of February last, occurred the destruction of the battleship Maine, while rightfully lying in the harbor of Havana on a mission of international courtesy and good will—a catastrophe the suspicious nature and horror of which stirred the nation's heart profoundly.

"It is a striking evidence of the poise and sturdy good sense distinguishing our national character that this shocking blow, falling upon a generous people, already deeply touched by preceding events in Cuba, did not move them to an instant, desperate resolve to tolerate no longer the existence of a condition of danger and disorder at our doors that made possible such a deed by whomsoever wrought. Yet the instinct of justice prevailed and the nation anxiously awaited the result of the searching investigation at once set on foot.

"The finding of the naval board of inquiry established that the origin of the explosion was external by a submarine mine, and only halted through lack of positive testimony to fix the responsibility of its authorship.

"All these things carried conviction to the most thoughtful, even before the finding of the naval court, that a crisis in our relations with Spain and toward Cuba was at hand. So strong was this belief that it needed but a brief executive suggestion to the congress to receive immediate answer to the duty of making instant provision for the possible and perhaps speedy probable emergency of war, and the remarkable, almost unique, spectacle was presented of a unanimous vote of both houses on the 9th of March, appropriating $50,000,000 for the national defense and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be expended at the direction of the president.

"That this act of provision came none too soon was disclosed when the application of the fund was undertaken. Our forts were practically undefended. Our navy needed large provision for increased ammunition and supplies and even numbers to cope with any sudden attack from the navy of Spain, which comprised vessels of the highest type of continental perfection. Our army also required enlargement of men and munitions.

"The details of the hurried preparation for the dreaded contingency are told in the reports of the secretaries of war and of the navy, and need not be repeated here. It is sufficint to say that the outbreak of the war, when it did come, found our nation not unprepared to meet the conflict.

"Nor was the apprehension of coming strife confined to our own country. It was felt by the continental powers, which, on April 6, through their ambassadors and envoys, addressed to the executive an expression of hope that humanity and moderation might mark the course of this government and people, and that further negotiations would lead to an agreement which, while securing the maintenance of peace, would affirm all necessary guarantees for the re-establishment of order in Cuba.

"In responding to that representation I also shared the hope that the envoys had expressed that peace might be preserved in a manner to terminate the chronic condition of disturbance in Cuba so injurious and menacing to our interests and tranquillity, as well as shocking to our sentiments of humanity; and, while appreciating the humanitarian and disinterested character of the communication they had made on behalf of the powers, I stated the confidence of this government, for its part, that equal appreciation would be shown for its own earnest

and unselfish endeavors to fulfill a duty to humanity by ending a situation the indefinite prolongation of which had become insufferable.

EFFORTS TO AVERT WAR PROVE VAIN.

"Still animated by the hope of a peaceful solution and obeying the dictates of duty, no effort was relaxed to bring about a speedy ending of the Cuban struggle. Negotiations to this object continued actively with the government of Spain, looking to the immediate conclusion of a six months' armistice in Cuba with a view to effecting the recognition of her people's rights to independence. Besides this, the instant revocation of the order of reconcentration was asked, so that the sufferers, returning to their homes and aided by united American and Spanish effort, might be put in a way to support themselves and, by orderly resumption of the well nigh destroyed productive energies of the island, contribute to the restoration of its tranquility and well being.

'Negotiations continued for some little time at Madrid, resulting in offers by the Spanish government which could not but be regarded as inadequate. It was proposed to confide the preparation of peace to the insular parliament, yet to be convened under the autonomous decrees of November, 1897, but without impairment in any wise to the constitutional powers of the Madrid government, which, to that end, would grant an armistice, if solicited by the insurgents, for such time as the general-in-chief might see fit to fix.

"How and with what scope of discretionary powers the insular parliament was expected to set about the 'preparation' of peace did not appear. If it were to be by negotiation with the insurgents, the issue seemed to rest on the one side with a body chosen by a fraction of the electors in the districts under Spanish control and on the other with the insurgent population holding the interior country, unrepresented in the so-called parliament, and defiant at the suggestion of suing for peace.

"Grieved and disappointed at this barren outcome of my sincere endeavors to reach a practicable solution, I felt it my duty to remit the whole question to the congress. In the message of April 1, 1898, I announced that with this last overture in the direction of immediate peace in Cuba, and its disappointing reception by Spain, the effort of the executive was brought to an end.

"I again reviewed the alternative course of action which I had proposed, concluding that the only one consonant with international policy and compatible with our firm-set historical traditions was intervention as a neutral to stop the war and check the hopeless sacrifice of

life, even though that resort involved 'hostile constraint upon both the parties to the contest, as well to enforce a truce as to guide the eventual settlement.'

"The grounds justifying that step were: The interests of humanity, the duty to protect life and property of our citizens in Cuba, the right to check injury to our commerce and people through the devastation of the island, and, most important, the need of removing at once and forever the constant menace and the burden entailed upon our government by the uncertainties and perils of the situation caused by the unendurable disturbance in Cuba. I said:

" 'The long trial has proved that the object for which Spain has waged the war cannot be attained. The fire of insurrection may flame or may smoulder with varying seasons, but it has not been, and it is plain that it cannot be, extinguished by present methods. The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba. In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests, which give us the right and the duty to speak, the existing war in Cuba must stop.'

"In view of all this the congress was asked to authorize and empower the president to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between Spain and the people of Cuba and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquility, and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and the accomplishment of those ends to use the military and naval forces of the United States as might be necessary, with added authority to continue generous relief to the starving people of Cuba.

CONGRESS TAKES DECISIVE ACTION.

"The response of the congress, after nine days of earnest deliberation, during which the almost unanimous sentiment of that body was developed on every point save as to the expediency of coupling the proposed action with a formal recognition of the republic of Cuba as the true and lawful government of that island—a proposition which failed of adoption—the congress, after conference, on the 19th of April, by a vote of 42 to 35 in the senate and 311 to 6 in the house of representatives, passed the memorable joint resolution, declaring:

" '1. That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

" '2. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the gov-

ernment of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

"'3. That the president of the United States be and he hereby is directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several states to such extent as may be necessary, to carry these resolutions into effect.

"'4. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.'

"This resolution was approved by the executive on the next day, April 20. A copy was at once communicated to the Spanish minister at this capital, who forthwith announced that his continuance in Washington had thereby become impossible, and asked for his passports, which were given him. He thereupon withdrew from Washington, leaving the protection of Spanish interests in the United States to the French ambassador and the Austro-Hungarian minister.

"Simultaneously with its communication to the Spanish minister, General Woodford, the American minister at Madrid, was telegraphed confirmation of the text of the joint resolution, and directed to communicate it to the government of Spain, with the formal demand that it at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba, and withdraw its forces therefrom, coupling this demand with announcements of the intentions of this government as to the future of the island, in conformity with the fourth clause of the resolution, and giving Spain until noon of April 23d to reply.

"The demand, although, as above shown, officially made known to the Spanish envoy here, was not delivered at Madrid. After the instructions reached General Woodford on the morning of April 21st, but before he could present it, the Spanish Minister of State notified him that upon the president's approval of the joint resolution the Madrid government, regarding the act as "equivalent to an evident declaration of war," had ordered its minister in Washington to withdraw, thereby breaking off diplomatic relations between the two countries, and ceasing all official communication between the respective representatives. General Woodford thereupon demanded his passports and quitted Madrid the same day.

FORMAL DECLARATION OF WAR.

Spain having thus denied the demand of the United States and

initiated that complete form of rupture of relations which attends a state of war, the executive powers authorized by the resolution were at once used by me to meet the enlarged contingency of actual war between Spain and the United States.

On April 22d I proclaimed a blockade of the northern coast of Cuba, including ports on said coast between Cardenas and Bahia Honda, and the port of Cienfuegos on the south coast of Cuba, and on the 23d I called for volunteers to execute the purpose of the resolution.

By my message of April 25th the congress was informed of the situation, and I recommended formal declaration of the existence of a state of war between the United States and Spain. The Congress accordingly voted on the same day the act approved April 25, 1898, declaring the existence of such war, from and including the 21st day of April, and re-enacted the provisions of the resolution of April 20th, directing the President to use all the armed forces of the nation to carry that act into effect.

Due notification of the existence of war as aforesaid was given April 25th by telegraph to all the governments with which the United States maintain relations, in order that their neutrality might be assured during the war.

The various governments responded with proclamations of neutrality, each after its own methods. It is not among the least gratifying incidents of the struggle that the obligations of neutrality were impartially discharged by all, often under delicate and difficult circumstances.

In further fulfillment of international duty, I issued, April 26th, a proclamation announcing the treatment proposed to be accorded to vessels and their cargoes as to blockades, contraband, the exercise of the rights of subjects and the immunity of neutral flags and neutral goods under the enemy's flag. A similar proclamation was made by the Spanish government. In the conduct of hostilities the rules of the declaration of Paris, including abstention from resort to privateering,, have accordingly been observed by both belligerents, although neither was a party to that declaration.

RECRUITING ARMY AND NAVY.

Our country thus, after an interval of half a century of peace with all nations, found itself engaged in deadly conflict with a foreign enemy. Every nerve was strained to meet the emergency.

The response to the initial call for 125,000 volunteers was instant and complete, as was also the result of the second call of May 25th for 75,000 additional volunteers. The ranks of the regular army were increased to the limits provided by the act of April 26th.

The enlisted force of the navy on the 15th of August, when it reached its maximum, numbered 24,123 men and apprentices. One hundred and three vessels were added to the navy by purchase, one was presented to the government, one leased and the four vessels of the International Navigation Company—the St. Paul, St. Louis, New York and Paris—were chartered. In addition to these the revenue cutters and lighthouse tenders were turned over to the navy department and became temporarily a part of the auxiliary navy.

The maximum eeffctive fighting force of the navy during the war, separated into classes, was as follows:

Regular—Four battleships of the first class, one battleship of the second class, two armored cruisers, six coast defense monitors, one armored ram, twelve protected cruisers, three unprotected cruisers, eighteen gunboats, one dynamite cruiser, eleven torpedo boats, fourteen old vessels of the old navy, including monitors.

Auxiliary Navy—Sixteen auxiliary cruisers, twenty-eight converted yachts, twenty-seven converted tugs, nineteen converted colliers, fifteen revenue cutters, four lighthouse tenders and nineteen miscellaneous vessels.

Much alarm was felt along our entire Atlantic seaboard lest some attack might be made by the enemy. Every precaution was taken to prevent possible injury to our great cities lying along the coast. Temporary garrisons were provided, drawn from the state militia. Infantry and light batteries were drawn from the volunteer force. About 12,000 troops were thus employed. The coast signal service was established for observing the approach of an enemy's ships to the coast of the United States, and the life-saving and lighthouse services co-operated, which enabled the navy department to have all portions of the Atlantic coast, from Maine to Texas, under observation.

The auxiliary navy was created under the authority of Congress and was officered and manned by the naval militia of the several states. This organization patrolled the coast and performed the duty of a second arm of defense.

Under the direction of the chief of engineers submarine mines were placed at the most exposed points. Before the outbreak of the war permanent mining casements and cable galleries had been constructed at all important harbors. Most of the torpedo material was not to be found in the market and had to be specially manufactured. Under date of April 19th district officers were directed to take all preliminary measures, short of the actual attaching of the loaded mines to the cables, and on April 22d telegraphic orders were issued to place the loaded mines in position.

The aggregate number of mines placed was 1,535 at the principal harbors from Maine to California. Preparations were also made for the planting of mines at certain other harbors, but owing to the early destruction of the Spanish fleet these mines were not placed.

The signal corps was promptly organized and performed service of most difficult and important character. Its operations during the war covered the electrical connection of all coast fortifications and the establishment of telephonic and telegraphic facilities for the camps at Manila, Santiago and in Porto Rico.

There were constructed 300 miles of line at ten great camps, thus facilitating military movements from those points in a manner heretofore unknown in military administration. Field telegraph lines were established and maintained under the enemy's fire at Manila, and later the Manila-Hongkong cable was reopened. In Porto Rico cable communications were opened over a discontinued route, and on land the headquarters of the commanding officer were kept in telegraphic or telephonic communication with the division commanders of four different lines of operation.

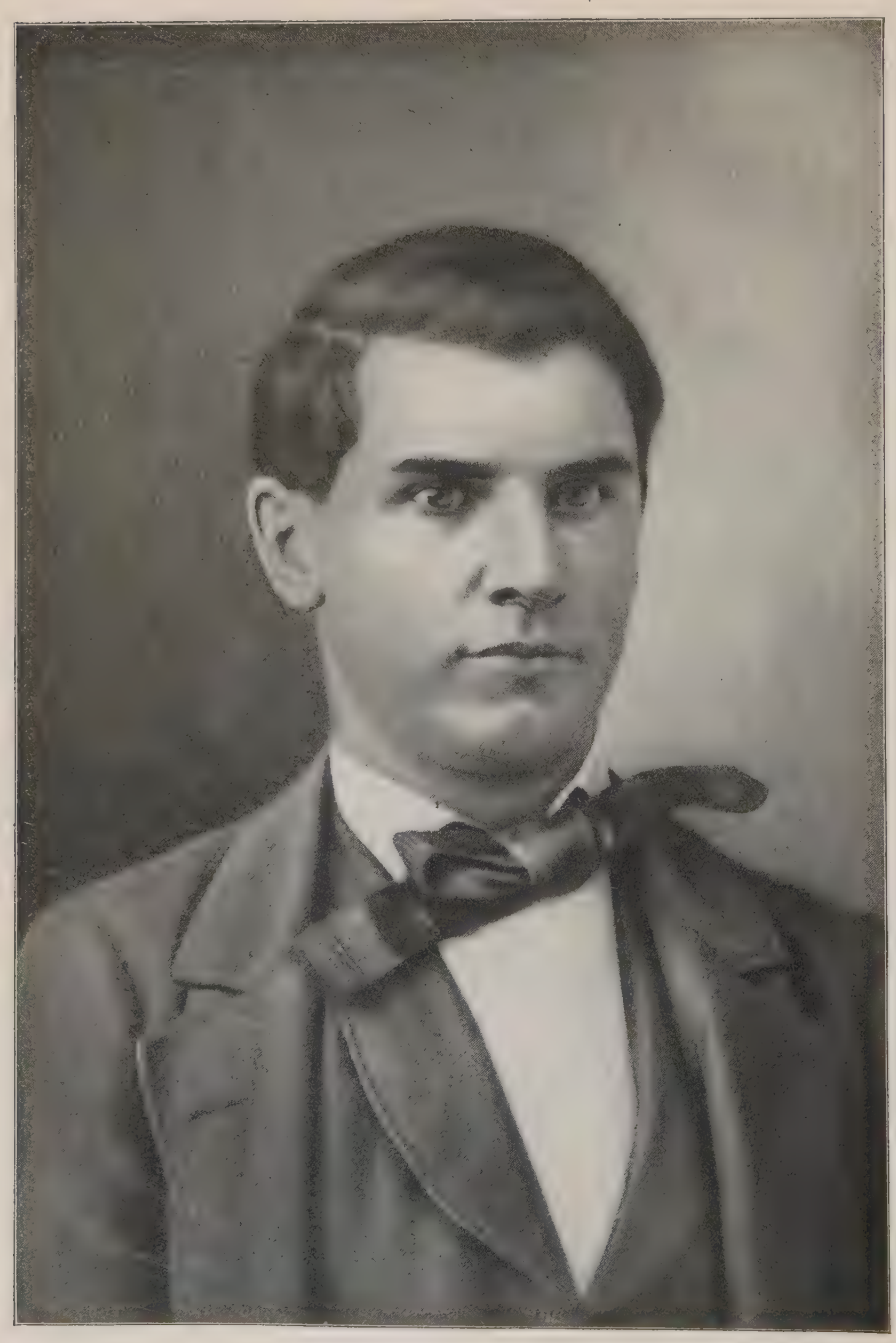
There was placed in Cuban waters a completely outfitted cable ship, with war cables and cable gear suitable both for the destruction of communications belonging to the enemy and the establishment of our own. Two ocean cables were destroyed under the enemy's batteries at Santiago. The day previous to the landing of General Shafter's corps at Caimanera, within twenty miles of the landing place, cable communications were established and cable stations opened, giving direct communication with the government at Washington. This service was invaluable to the executive in directing the operations of the army and navy.

With a total force of over 1,300 the loss was by disease and field, officers and men included, only five.

NATION TAKES WAR BONDS.

The national defense under the $50,000,000 fund was expended in large part by the army and navy, and the objects for which it was used are fully shown in the reports of the several secretaries. It was a most timely appropriation, enabling the government to strengthen its defense and making preparations greatly needed in case of war.

This fund being inadequate to the requirements of equipment and for the conduct of the war, the patriotism of the congress provided the means in the war revenue act of June 13th, by authorizing a 3 per cent popular loan, not to exceed $400,000,000, and by levying additional imposts and taxes. Of the authorized loan, $200,000,000 were offered



McKINLEY AT AGE OF 16.

and promptly taken, the subscriptions so far exceeding the call as to cover it many times over, while, preference being given to the smaller bids, no single allotment exceeded $5,000.

This was a most encouraging and significant result, showing the vast resources of the nation and the determination of the people to uphold their country's honor.

DEWEY'S GREAT VICTORY.

The first encounter of the war in point of date took place April 27th, when a detachment of the blockading squadron made a reconnaissance in force at Matanzas, shelled the harbor forts and demolished several new works in course of construction.

The next engagement was destined to mark a memorable epoch in maritime warfare. The Pacific fleet, under Commodore Dewey, had lain for some weeks at Hongkong. Upon the colonial proclamation of neutrality being issued and the customary twenty-four hours' notice being given, it repaired to Mirs Bay, near Hongkong, whence it proceeded to the Philippine Islands under telegraphic orders to capture or destroy the formidable Spanish fleet then assembled at Manila.

At daybreak on the 1st of May the American force entered Manila Bay, and after a few hours' engagement effected the total destruction of the Spanish fleet, consisting of ten warships and a transport, besides capturing the naval station and forts at Cavite, thus annihilating the Spanish naval power in the Pacific ocean and completely controlling the Bay of Manila, with the ability to take the city at will. Not a life was lost on our ships, the wounded only numbering seven, while not a vessel was materially injured.

For this gallant achievement the congress, upon my recommendation, fitly bestowed upon the actors preferment and substantial reward.

The effect of this remarkable victory upon the spirit of our people and upon the fortunes of the war was instant. A prestige of invincibility thereby attached to our arms, which continued throughout the struggle. Re-enforcements were hurried to Manila under the command of Major-General Merritt and firmly established within sight of the capital, which lay helpless before our guns.

On the 7th day of May the government was advised officially of the victory at Manila, and at once inquired of the commander of our fleet what troops would be required. The information was received on the 15th day of May, and the first army expedition sailed May 25th and arrived off Manila June 30. Other expeditions soon followed, the total force consisting of 641 officers and 15,058 men.

Only reluctance to cause needless loss of life and property prevented

the early storming and capture of the city, and therewith the absolute military occupancy of the whole group. The insurgents meanwhile had resumed the active hostilities suspended by the uncompleted truce of December, 1897. Their forces invested Manila from the northern and eastern side, but were constrained by Admiral Dewey and General Merritt from attempting an assault.

It was fitting that whatever was to be done in the way of decisive operations in that quarter should be accomplished by the strong arm of the United States alone. Obeying the stern precept of war, which enjoins the overcoming of the adversary and the extinction of his power wherever assailable as the speedy and sure means to win a peace, divided victory was not permissible, for no partition of the rights and responsibilities attending the enforcement of a just and advantageous peace could be thought of.

CAMPAIGN IN CUBA REVIEWED.

Following the comprehensive scheme of general attack, powerful forces were assembled at various points on our coast to invade Cuba and Porto Rico. Meanwhile naval demonstrations were made at several exposed points. On May 11th the cruiser Wilmington and torpedo boat Winslow were unsuccessful in an attempt to silence the batteries at Cardenas, against Matanzas, Worth Bagley and four seamen falling. These grievous fatalities were, strangely enough, among the very few which occurred during our naval operations in this extraordinary conflict.

Meanwhile the Spanish naval preparations had been pushed with great vigor. A powerful squadron under Admiral Cervera, which had assembled at the Cape Verde Islands before the outbreak of hostilities, had crossed the ocean, and by its erratic movements in the Caribbean Sea delayed our military operations while baffling the pursuit of our fleets. For a time fears were felt lest the Oregon and Marietta, then nearing home after their long voyage from San Francisco of over 15,000 miles, might be surprised by Admiral Cervera's fleet, but their fortunate arrival dispelled these apprehensions and lent much needed re-enforcement.

Not until Admiral Cervera took refuge in the Harbor of Santiago de Cuba about May 9th was it practicable to plan a systematic military attack upon the Antillean possessions of Spain. Several demonstrations occurred on the coasts of Cuba and Porto Rico in preparation for the larger event. On May 13th the North Atlantic squadron shelled San Juan de Porto Rico. On May 30th Commodore Schley's squadron bombarded the forts guarding the mouth of Santiago Harbor. Neither

attack had any material result. It was evident that well-ordered land operations were indispensable to achieve a decisive advantage.

The next act in the war thrilled not alone the hearts of our countrymen but the world by its exceptional heroism.

SINKING OF THE MERRIMAC.

On the night of June 3d Lieutenant Hobson, aided by seven devoted volunteers, blocked the narrow outlet from Santiago Harbor by sinking the collier Merrimac in the channel, under a fierce fire from the shore batteries, escaping with their lives as by a miracle, but falling into the hands of the Spaniards.

It is a most gratifying incident of the war that the bravery of this little band of heroes was cordially appreciated by the Spaniards, who sent a flag of truce to notify Admiral Sampson of their safety and to compliment them upon their daring act. They were subsequently exchanged July 7th.

By June 7th the cutting of the last Cuban cable isolated the island. Thereafter the invasion was vigorously prosecuted. On June 10th, under a heavy protecting fire, a landing of 600 marines from the Oregon. Marblehead and Yankee was effected in Guantanamo Bay, where it had been determined to establish a naval station. This important and essential port was taken from the enemy after severe fighting by the marines, who were the first organized force of the United States to land in Cuba. The position so won was held despite desperate attempts to dislodge our forces.

By June 16th additional forces were landed and strongly intrenched. On June 22d the advance of the invading army under Major-General Shafter landed at Baiquiri, about fifteen miles east of Santiago. This was accomplished under great difficulties, but with marvelous dispatch. On June 23d the movement against Santiago was begun.

On the 24th the first serious engagement took place, in which the First and Tenth Cavalry and the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, General Young's brigade of General Wheeler's division, participated, losing heavily. By nightfall, however, ground within five miles of Santiago was won.

The advantage was steadily increased. On July 1st a severe battle took place, our forces gaining the outworks of Santiago. On the 2d El Caney and San Juan were taken after a desperate charge, and the investment of the city was completed. The navy co-operated by shelling the town and coast forts.

DESTRUCTION OF CERVERA'S FLEET.

On the day following this brilliant achievement of our land forces,

July 3d, occurred the decisive naval combat of the war. The Spanish fleet, attempting to leave the harbor, was met by the American squadron under command of Commodore Schley. In less than three hours all the Spanish ships were destroyed, the two torpedo boats being sunk, and the Maria Teresa, Almirante Oquendo, Vizcaya and Cristobol Colon driven ashore. The Spanish admiral and over 1,300 men were taken prisoners, while the enemy's loss of life was deplorably large, some 600 perishing.

On our side but one man was killed, on the Brooklyn, and one man seriously wounded. Although our ships were repeatedly struck, not one was seriously injured.

Where all so conspicuously distinguished themselves, from the commanders to the gunners and the unnamed heroes in the boiler-rooms, each and all contributing toward the achievement of this astounding victory, for which neither ancient nor modern history affords a parallel in the completeness of the event and the marvelous disproportion of casualties, it would be invidious to single out any for especial honor.

Deserved promotion has rewarded the more conspicuous actors—the nation's profoundest gratitude is due to all of those brave men who by their skill and devotion in a few short hours crushed the sea power of Spain and wrought a triumph whose decisiveness and far-reaching consequences can scarcely be measured. Nor can we be unmindful of the achievements of our builders, mechanics and artisans for their skill in the construction of our warships.

With the catastrophe of Santiago Spain's effort upon the ocean virtually ceased. A spasmodic effort toward the end of June to send her Mediterranean fleet under Admiral Camara to relieve Manila was abandoned, the expedition being recalled after it had passed through the Suez Canal.

The capitulation of Santiago followed. The city was closely beseiged by land, while the entrance of our ships into the harbor cut off all relief on that side. After a truce to allow of the removal of non-combatants protracted negotiations continued from July 3d to July 15th, when, under menace of immediate assault, the preliminaries of surrender were agreed upon. On the 17th General Shafter occupied the city.

The capitulation embraced the entire eastern end of Cuba. The number of Spanish soldiers surrendered was 22,000, all of whom were subsequently conveyed to Spain at the charge of the United States.

The story of this successful campaign is told in the report of the secretary of war, which will be laid before you. The individual valor of officers and soldiers was never more strikingly shown than in the several engagements leading to the surrender of Santiago, while the

prompt movements and successive victories won instant and universal applause.

To those who gained this complete triumph, which established the ascendancy of the United States upon land as the fight off Santiago had fixed our supremacy on the seas, the earnest and lasting gratitude of the nation is unsparingly due.

Nor should we alone remember the gallantry of the living; the dead claim our tears, and our losses by battle and disease must cloud any exultation at the result and teach us to weigh the awful cost of war, however rightful the cause or signal the victory.

OCCUPATION OF PORTO RICO.

With the fall of Santiago, the occupation of Porto Rico became the next strategic necessity. General Miles had previously been assigned to organize an expedition for that purpose. Fortunately he was already at Santiago, where he had arrived on the 11th of July, with re-enforcements for General Shafter's army.

With these troops, consisting of 3,415 infantry and artillery, two companies of engineers, and one company of the signal corps, General Miles left Guantanamo on July 21st, having nine transports convoyed by the fleet under Captain Higginson, with the Massachusetts (flagship), Dixie, Gloucester, Columbia and Yale, the two latter carrying troops. The expedition landed at Guanica July 25th, which port was entered with little opposition. Here the fleet was joined by the Annapolis and the Wasp, while the Puritan and Amphitrite went to San Juan and joined the New Orleans, which was engaged in blockading that port.

The major-general commanding was subsequently re-enforced by General Schwann's brigade of the Third Army Corps, by General Wilson, with a part of his division, and also by General Brooke, with a part of his corps, numbering in all 16,973 officers and men. On July 27 he entered Ponce, one of the most important ports in the island, from which he thereafter directed operations for the capture of the island.

With the exception of encounters with the enemy at Guayama, Hormigueres, Coamo and Yauco, and an attack on a force landing at Cape San Juan, there was no serious resistance. The campaign was prosecuted with great vigor, and by the 12th of August much of the island was in our possession, and the acquisition of the remainder was only a matter of a short time.

At most of the points in the island our troops were enthusiastically welcomed. Protestations of loyalty to the flag and gratitude for delivery from Spanish rule met our commanders at every stage.

As a potent influence toward peace, the outcome of the Porto Rican expedition was of great consequence, and generous commendation is due to those who participated in it.

LAST BATTLE OF THE WAR.

The last scene of the war was enacted at Manila, its starting place. On August 15th, after a brief assault upon the works by the land forces, in which the squadron assisted, the capital surrendered unconditionally. The casualties were comparatively few.

By this the conquest of the Philippine Islands, virtually accomplished when the Spanish capacity for resistance was destroyed by Admiral Dewey's victory of the 1st of May, was formally sealed.

To General Merritt, his officers and men, for their uncomplaining and devoted services, for their gallantry in action, the nation is sincerely grateful. Their long voyage was made with singular success, and the soldierly conduct of the men, most of whom were without previous experience in the military service, deserves unmeasured praise.

LOSSES OF ARMY AND NAVY.

The total casualties in killed and wounded during the war were as follows:

ARMY.

Officers killed	23
Enlisted men killed	257
Total	280
Officers wounded	113
Enlisted men wounded	1,464
Total	1,577

NAVY.

Killed	17
Wounded	67
Died as result of wounds	1
Invalided from service	6
Total	91

It will be observed that while our navy was engaged in two great battles and in numerous perilous undertakings in the blockades and bombardment, and more than fifty thousand of our troops were transported to distant lands and engaged in assault and siege and battle and many

skirmishes in unfamiliar territory, we lost in both arms of the service a total of 1,948 killed and wounded; and in the entire campaign by land and sea we did not lose a gun or a flag or a transport or a ship, and with the exception of the crew of the Merrimac not a soldier or sailor was taken prisoner.

On August 7, forty-six days from the date of the landing of General Shafter's army in Cuba and twenty-one days from the surrender of Santiago, the United States troops commenced embarkation for home, and our entire force was returned to the United States as early as August 25th. They were absent from the United States only two months.

It is fitting that I should bear testimony to the patriotism and devotion of that large portion of our army which, although eager to be ordered to the post of greatest exposure, fortunately was not required outside of the United States. They did their whole duty, and, like their comrades at the front, have earned the gratitude of the nation.

In like manner, the officers and men of the army and of the navy who remained in their departments and stations of the navy, performing most important duties connected with the war, and whose requests for assignments in the field and at sea I was compelled to refuse because their services were indispensable here, are entitled to the highest commendation. It is my regret that there seems to be no provision for their suitable recognition.

In this connection it is a pleasure for me to mention in terms of cordial appreciation the timely and useful work of the American National Red Cross, both in relief measures preparatory to the campaign, in sanitary assistance at several of the camps and assemblages, and later, under the able and experienced leadership of the president of the society, Miss Clara Barton, on the fields of battle and in the hospitals at the front in Cuba. Working in conjunction with the governmental authorities and under their sanction and approval and with the enthusiastic co-operation of many patriotic women and societies in the various states, the Red Cross has fully maintained its already high reputation for intense earnestness and ability to exercise the noble purposes of its international organization, thus justifying the confidence and support which it has received at the hands of the American people.

To the members and officers of this society and all who aided them in their philanthropic work, the sincere and lasting gratitude of the soldiers and the public is due and is freely accorded.

In tracing these events we are constantly reminded of our obligations to the Divine Master for His watchful care over us and His safe guidance, for which the nation makes reverent acknowledgment and offers humble prayer for the continuance of His favor.

SIGNING OF THE PROTOCOL.

The annihilation of Admiral Cervera's fleet, followed by the capitulation of Santiago, having brought to the Spanish government a realizing sense of the hopelessness of continuing a struggle now becoming wholly unequal, it made overtures of peace through the French ambassador, who, with the assent of his government, had acted as the friendly representative of Spanish interests during the war.

On the 26th of July M. Cambon presented a communication signed by the Duke of Almodovar, the Spanish minister of state, inviting the United States to state the terms upon which it would be willing to make peace.

On July 30th, by a communication addressed to the Duke of Almodovar and handed to M. Cambon, the terms of this government were announced, substantially as in the protocol afterward signed.

On August 10th the Spanish reply, dated August 7th, was handed by M. Cambon to the secretary of state. It accepted unconditionally the terms imposed as to Cuba, Porto Rico and an island of the Ladrones group, but appeared to seek to introduce inadmissible reservations in regard to our demand as to the Philippines.

Conceiving that discussion on this point could neither be practicable nor profitable, it was directed that in order to avoid misunderstanding the matter should be forthwith closed by proposing the embodiment in a formal protocol of the terms on which the negotiations for peace were to be undertaken.

The vague and inexplicit suggestions of the Spanish note could not be accepted, the only reply being to present as a virtual ultimatum a draft of a protocol embodying the precise terms tendered to Spain in our note of July 30th, with added stipulations of detail as to the appointment of commissioners to arrange for the evacuation of the Spanish Antilles.

On August 12th M. Cambon announced his receipt of full power to sign the protocol as submitted. Accordingly, on the afternoon of August 12th, M. Cambon, as the plenipotentiary of Spain, and the secretary of state, as the plenipotentary of the United States, signed the protocol, providing:

"Article 1. Spain will relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.

"Article 2. Spain will cede to the United States the Island of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, and also an island in the Ladrones to be selected by the United States.

"Article 3. The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines."

McKINLEY AT AGE OF 18.

The fourth article provided for the appointment of joint commissions on the part of the United States and Spain, to meet in Havana and San Juan, respectively, for the purpose of arranging and carrying out the details of the stipulated evacuation of Cuba, Porto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies.

The fifth article provided for the appointment of not more than five commissioners on each side to meet at Paris not later than October 1st and to proceed to the negotiation and conclusion of a treaty of peace, subject to ratification according to the respective constitutional forms of the two countries.

The sixth and last article provided that upon the signature of the protocol, hostilities between the two countries should be suspended, and that notice to that effect should be given as soon as possible by each government to the commanders of its military and naval forces.

CESSATION OF STRIFE.

Immediately upon the conclusion of the protocol I issued a proclamation on August 12th, suspending hostilities on the part of the United States. The necessary orders to that end were at once given by telegraph. The blockade of the ports of Cuba and San Juan de Porto Rico were in like manner raised.

On August 18th the muster out of 100,000 volunteers, or as near that number as was found to be practicable, was ordered. On December 1st, 101,165 officers and men had been mustered out and discharged from the service; 9,002 more will be mustered out by the 10th of the month. Also a corresponding number of generals and general staff officers have been honorably dischargd from service.

The military committees to superintend the evacuation of Cuba, Porto Rico and the adjacent islands were forthwith appointed—for Cuba, Major General James F. Wade, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson and Major-General Matthew C. Butler; for Porto Rico, Major-General John C. Brooke, Rear Admiral Winfield S. Schley and Brigadier-General W. W. Gordon, who soon afterward met the Spanish commissioners at Havana and San Juan, respectively.

WORK OF EVACUATION.

The Porto Rican joint commissions speedily accomplished its task, and by October 18th the evacuation of the island was completed. The United States flag was raised over the island at noon on that day.

As soon as we are in possession of Cuba and have pacified the island it will be necessary to give aid and direction to its people to form a government for themselves. This should be undertaken at the earliest moment consistent with safety and assured success.

It is important that our relations with these people shall be of the most friendly character and our commercial relations close and reciprocal. It should be our duty to assist in every proper way to build up the waste places of the island, encourage the industry of the people and assist them to form a government which shall be free and independent, thus realizing the best aspirations of the Cuban people.

Spanish rule must be replaced by a just, benevolent and humane government, created by the people of Cuba, capable of performing all international obligations, and which shall encourage thrift, industry and prosperity, and promote peace and good will among all the inhabitants, whatever may have been their relations in the past. Neither revenge nor passion should have a place in the new government.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY,
President of the United States.

CHAPTER XIV.

Chronological Events of the Spanish-American War. Loss and Cost of the War.

APRIL, 1898.

April 7. Several diplomatic officials of Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Italy and Russia, met the President at the White House bearing a message of friendship and peace. The collective note of the great powers was replied to by the President in fitting terms.

April 10. The Spanish minister presented the final plea of his government for peace to Mr. Day, the assistant secretary of state.

April 11. President McKinley sent his war message to congress.

April 19. Congress passed a joint resolution by a vote of 42 yeas to 35 nays in the senate, and of 319 yeas to 6 nays in the house of representatives, declaring war against Spain.

April 20. The President approved the resolution.

April 21. General Woodford, minister to Spain, received his passports from the Spanish government.

April 22. Blockading proclamation issued. It was also on this date that the first gun of the war was fired by the gunboat Nashville in capturing the first prize of the war, the Buena Ventura.

April 23. The President called for 125,000 volunteers for service during two years.

April 24. Spain issued a decree that war existed with the United States.

April 25. War formally declared by congress against Spain.

April 27. First battle of the war was fought off Matanzas by Admiral Sampson with the New York, the Puritan and the Cincinnati.

April 29. Cervera's fleet sailed for Cuba.

April 30. The battleship Oregon arrived at Rio de Janeiro from San Francisco.

MAY.

May 1. Admiral Dewey destroyed the entire Spanish fleet under Admiral Montojo in the Bay of Manila.

May 2. Commodore Dewey cut the cable connections between Manila and Hong Kong and took possession of the naval station at Cavite.

May 4. The vessels of Rear Admiral Sampson's fleet sailed from Key West.

May 6. The French steamer La Fayette was captured as a blockade runner.

May 7. Commodore Dewey was promoted to be rear admiral and given the thanks of congress.

May 11. Naval encounter at Cardenas resulting in the death of Ensign Bagley.

May 12. First fight on Cuban soil in attempting to land supplies. Part of the fleet under Admiral Sampson bombarded the batteries defending San Juan, Porto Rico.

May 13. The "Flying Squadron" under Commodore Schley sailed from Hampton Roads.

May 15. The entire Spanish cabinet resigned.

May 16. General Merritt was assigned to the new department of the Pacific, including the Philippines.

May 18. The cruiser Charleston, Captain Glass, sailed from San Francisco for the Philippines.

May 19. Cervera's fleet arrived in the bay of Santiago de Cuba.

May 21. The monitor Monterey was ordered to Manila.

May 23. The First California regiment embarked on the City of Peking for Manila.

May 25. The President called for 75,000 additional volunteers.

May 26. The Oregon arrived at Key West.

May 30. Commodore Schley sent a dispatch that he had seen Cervera's fleet in the bay of Santiago de Cuba.

JUNE.

June 1. Admiral Sampson joined Commodore Schley and took command of the united American fleets, composed of sixteen warships, off Santiago de Cuba.

June 3. The Merrimac was sunk in the mouth of the Santiago harbor and Hobson was taken prisoner with the seven brave men who volunteered to accompany him.

June 6. Ten ships bombarded the batteries at Santiago de Cuba.

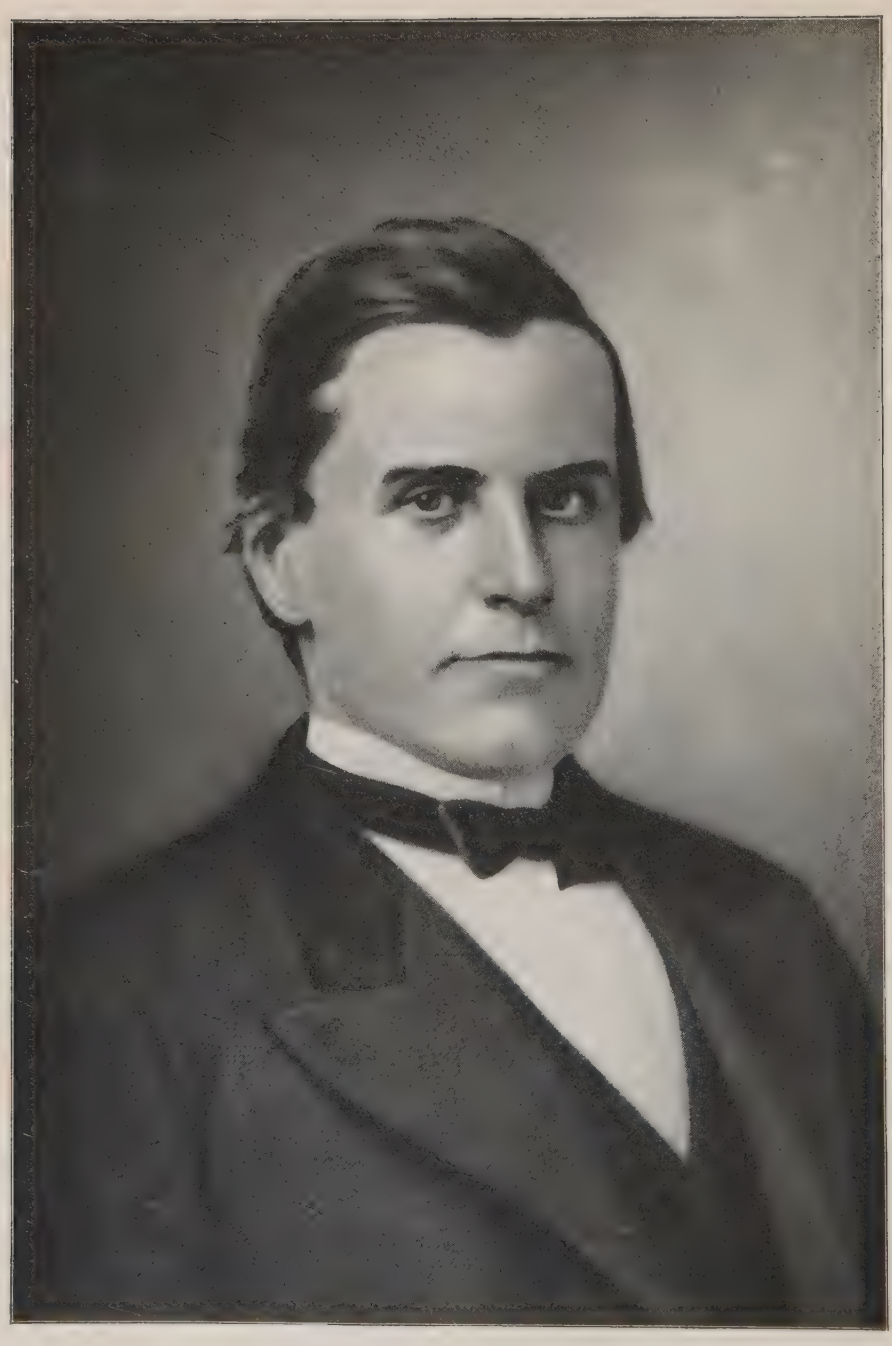
June 7. The French cable was cut in Guantanamo Bay.

June 10. Six hundred United States marines were landed at Caimanera, near Guantanamo, and located at Camp McCalla.

June 11 and 12. Fighting took place at Camp McCalla.

June 13. Camara's fleet sailed from Spain. A portion of the first military expedition left Tampa, Florida, for Santiago de Cuba.

June 14. Spanish troops were pursued by scouting parties of ma-



McKINLEY AT AGE OF 22.

rines and Cubans on Guantanamo Bay; 200 Spaniards killed and wounded.

June 15. The Texas, Marblehead and Suwanee bombarded the forts at Caimanera.

June 16. Forts at Santiago were again bombarded by Sampson's fleet.

June 18. Admiral Camara's fleet arrived at Cartagena.

June 20. United States troopships arrived at Santiago de Cuba.

June 21 and 22. The American army under General Shafter landed at Daiquiri and Siboney from the troopships.

June 22. The auxiliary cruiser St. Paul destroyed the Spanish torpedo boat Terror.

June 23. The monitor Monadnock sailed for Manila.

June 24. General Young and the Rough Riders attack the Spaniards at La Guasimas, near Sevilla. Hamilton Fish, Jr., and Captain A. K. Capron were killed.

June 25. The Americans under General Chaffee occupied Sevilla

June 26. The advance American forces reached San Juan, four miles distant from Santiago.

June 27. The third Manila expedition, commanded by General Arthur MacArthur, sailed from San Francisco.

June 28. President McKinley issued proclamation extending the blockade further of Cuban ports.

June 29. Major-General Merritt sailed for the Philippines from San Francisco. General Snyder's division of troops sailed for Santiago de Cuba, from Tampa.

June 30. The cruiser Charleston, with three transports, arrived in Manila bay.

JULY.

July 1 and 2. General Lawton, General Kent, General Chaffee, General Young, Colonel Roosevelt, with Grimes, Capron and other brave officers and men, take the heights of El Caney and San Juan, overlooking Santiago de Cuba. The American losses in the two days' engagement were: Officers killed, 23; men, 208. Officers wounded, 80; men, 1,203. Missing, 81 men.

July 3. Destruction of Cervera's fleet.

July 4. Truce established between the contending forces.

July 5. General Toral refused to surrender the city. The truce was extended.

July 6. Lieutenant Hobson and his men exchanged.

July 7. An extension of armistice was granted.

July 8. The Concord and the Raleigh, of Admiral's Dewey's squadron, took possession of Isla Grande in Subig bay, on the island of Luzon.

July 9. General Miles sailed from Charleston on the Yale for Santiago de Cuba. General Toral offered to surrender if his troops were permitted to march out with their arms. The proposal was not accepted.

July 11. General Miles arrived at Santiago de Cuba, and conferred with General Shafter. Firing was resumed against the Spanish defenses.

July 14. General Toral agreed to surrender.

July 15. The fourth Manila expedition sailed from San Francisco, under General Otis, with 1,700 troops.

July 16. Admiral Cervera and the officers captured from his fleet arrived at Annapolis as prisoners of war.

July 17. The city of Santiago de Cuba formally surrendered to General Shafter.

July 18. President McKinley issued his proclamation regarding the government of Santiago de Cuba.

July 25. General Miles landed in Porto Rico, near Ponce.

July 26. Spain proposed peace through the French ambassador, M. Jules Cambon.

July 27. The American forces advanced against Yauco, in Porto Rico.

July 28. General Brooke sailed with his command from Newport News for Porto Rico.

July 29. The American forces moved towards Malate on the road to Manila.

July 30. The President transmitted to Spain a statement regarding the basis of peace.

July 31. Battle of Malate between the Americans and Spanish near Cavite and Manila.

AUGUST.

Aug. 1. The American troops in Porto Rico moved toward San Juan, General Miles having joined Generals Brooke and Schwan.

Aug. 5. The town of Guayama, in Porto Rico, was captured after a slight engagement by the Fourth Ohio and the Third Illinois Regiments.

Aug. 7. Admiral Dewey and General Merritt demanded the surrender of Manila. The demand was refused.

Aug. 8. A skirmish took place near Guayama, Porto Rico. Five soldiers of the Fourth Ohio were wounded.

Aug. 9. The town of Coamo, Porto Rico, was captured. Spain's reply to the peace proposition was presented to the President.

Aug. 10. Secretary Day and M. Jules Cambon agreed on the terms of a protocol to be sent to Spain for approval.

Aug. 11. A protocol suspending hostilities was signed in Washington at 4:23 p. m., M. Jules Cambon having received authority from Spain to act for it.

Aug. 13. Manila surrendered to the troops under General Merritt and Admiral Dewey.

Aug. 17. The President appointed, as commissioners to act regarding the evacuation of Cuba. Major-General James F. Wade, Rear-Admiral William T. Sampson, and Major-General Matthew C. Butler. For Porto Rico he named Major-General John R. Brooke, Rear-Admiral Winfield S. Schley and Brigadier-General William W. Gordon.

Aug. 19. Spain appointed as commissioners for Cuba, Major-General Gonzales Parrade, Rear-Admiral Pastor y Landere and Marquis Montoro. For Porto Rico, Major-General Ortega y Diaz, Commodore Vallarino y Carrasco and Judge-Advocate Sanchez Aguila y Leon.

Aug. 20. A grand naval parade was held in New York, in which the New York, Brooklyn, Massachusetts, Indiana, Texas, Oregon and Iowa participated.

SEPTEMBER.

Sept. 9. President McKinley appointed as peace commissioners William R. Day of Ohio, Senators William P. Frye of Maine, Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, George Gray of Delaware and Mr. Whitelaw Reid of New York.

Sept. 17. The American commissioners sailed for Paris.

Sept. 18. The Spanish government appointed as commissioners Senor Montero Rios, Senor Abarzuza, Senor Garnica, General Cerero and Senor Villarrutia.

Sept. 20. The evacuation of Porto Rico was begun.

Sept. 21. Mustering out of volunteers ordered to begin at once.

Sept. 24. Much criticism having been made in various directions regarding the conduct of the war, the President appointed a Commission of Investigation, which convened on this day at Washington. The commission was composed of the following persons: Major-General Grenville M. Dodge of Iowa, Colonel J. A. Sexton of Illinois, Captain E. P. Howell of Georgia, Major-General J. M. Wilson, chief of engineers of the United States army; the Hon. Charles Denby of Indiana, late minister to China; ex-Governor Urban A. Woodbury of Vermont, ex-Governor James A. Beaver of Pennsylvania, Major-General A. McD. McCook of the army (retired), Dr. Phineas S. Connor of Cincinnati. General Dodge was elected chairman of the commission.

THE TREATY OF PARIS.

On Christmas Eve, 1898, the Peace Commission delivered to the President of the United States a copy of the treaty of peace drawn up and signed in the city of Paris, December 10th, 1898. By this treaty, Spain lost her sovereignty over Cuba and ceded to the United States the Island of Porto Rico and her other possessions in the West Indies, the Island of Guam in the Ladrones, and all her possessions in the Philippines.

The Spanish Commissioners asked an indemnity for the expense Spain had incurred in the war with the Filipinos.

As a compromise of this claim, the United States agreed to pay Spain $20,000,000 within three months after the ratification of the treaty.

In the United States the ratification of the treaty was bitterly opposed in many quarters, and it was not until February 6th, 1899, that the Senate voted its approval.

Its action was accelerated, no doubt, by the fact that the Filipinos had attacked the American forces at Manila on February 5th, and although a brilliant victory had been won by our troops, several of the brave soldiers had been killed and wounded. The American spirit at home was thoroughly aroused. Patriotism arose above party. Republicans, Democrats, Populists and Silverites voted to sustain the government by a vote of 57 to 27.

COST OF THE WAR IN 1898 TO BOTH NATIONS.

COST TO SPAIN.

Although we have not official figures concerning the losses of the Spaniards, the following may be considered a very good estimate:

LOSS OF TERRITORY.

	Area in sq. miles.	Population.	Financial value.
Cuba	41,655	1,631,687	$300,000,000
Philippines	114,650	7,670,000	450,000,000
Porto Rico	3,670	813,937	150,000,000
Caroline and Sulu Islands*		111,000	
Cost of war			$ 125,000,000
Loss of commerce			20,000,000
Thirty ships lost			30,000,000
Total financial loss			$1,075,000,000

*These are unimportant, except for naval stations.

LOSS OF LIFE.

Killed	2,500
Wounded	3,000

COST TO THE UNITED STATES.

Over against the enormous losses by Spain we find ours to be the following:

Battleship Maine	$ 2,500,000
Cost of war	200,000,000
Indemnity to Spain	20,000,000
Total	$222,500,000

LOSS OF LIFE.

Battleship Maine	266
Killed in action (about)	253
Wounded (about)	1,324
Died in camp (about)	2,000
Total	3,843

These figures do not include those who died after being mustered out.

CHAPTER XV.

Country Expands and Becomes a World Power.

Senator Thurston, in apprising Governor McKinley of his nomination for the Presidency, said: "God give you strength so to bear the honors and meet the duties of that great office for which you are now nominated, and to which you will be elected, that your administration will enhance the dignity, and power, and glory of this republic, and secure the safety, welfare and happiness of its liberty-loving people."

William McKinley seems to have been the chosen servant of the Almighty, through whom all those things were to be brought about. Under his administration 124,340 square miles of territory was added to the public domain, and the country was raised to the rank of a world power. Before Dewey's guns spoke at Manila, the great powers of the earth looked upon the United States as a third-rate nation. They murmured somewhat because her enterprise was undermining their commerce, but in the main, they held her lightly. Dewey's victory raised their estimate of the calibre of the people, and when Commodore Schley, at Santiago, smashed the fleet of the Spanish Admiral Cervera, the world rubbed its eyes and awoke to the consciousness that Brother Jonathan had grown as big as any member of the national family, and would have to be respected accordingly.

From the purchase of Alaska, in 1867, down to 1893, there had been no additions to the public domain. The following table shows the growth of the country in territory from the beginning of the government:

ANNEXATION FROM 1783 TO 1893:

	Amount Paid.	Square Miles.
Louisiana	$15,000,000	1,171,931
Florida	5,000,000	52,268
Texas	28,500,000	376,133
California		545,783
Gadsden Purchase	10,500,000	45,535
Alaska	7,200,000	577,390
	$66,200,000	2,769,040

ANNEXATION FROM 1893 TO 1901.

	Amount Paid.	Square Miles.
Hawaii		6,740
Philippine Islands	$20,000,000	114,000
Porto Rico		3,600
	$20,000,000	124,340

	Square Miles.
Original territory	827,844
Annexed first 110 years	2,769,040
Annexed last three years	124,340
	3,721,224

President McKinley was not one of those who believed that the United States should never extend her power outside of the territory between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and the twentieth and fiftieth parallels of latitude. He believed in the people, in government by the people, and hence when Hawaii knocked at the doors of the White House and said, "Let us come in and be members of your family of states," he lent a ready ear. In his second annual message to congress, President McKinley said concerning Hawaii:

"Pending the consideration by the senate of the treaty signed June 16, 1897, by the plenipotentiaries of the United States and the republic of Hawaii, providing for the annexation of the islands, a joint resolution to accomplish the same purpose by accepting the offered cession and incorporating the ceded territory into the Union was adopted by congress and approved July 7, 1898. I thereupon directed the United States steamer Philadelphia to convey Rear Admiral Miller to Honolulu, and intrusted to his hands this important legislative act, to be delivered to the President of the republic of Hawaii, with whom the admiral and the United States minister were authorized to make appropriate arrangements for transferring the sovereignty of the islands to the United States.

"This was simply but impressively accomplished on the 12th of August last by the delivery of a certified copy of the resolution to President Dole, who thereupon yielded up to the representative of the government of the United States the sovereignty and public property of the Hawaiian islands.

"Pursuant to the terms of the joint resolution and in exercise of the authority thereby conferred upon me, I directed that the civil, judicial and military powers theretofore exercised by the officers of the government of the republic of Hawaii should continue to be exercised by those

officers until congress shall provide a government for the incorporated territory, subject to my power to remove such officers and fill vacancies. The President, officers and troops of the republic thereupon took the oath of allegiance to the United States, thus providing for the uninterrupted continuance of all the administrative and municipal functions of the annexed territory until congress shall otherwise enact.

"Following the further provisions of the joint resolution, I appointed the Hon. Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois; John T. Morgan, of Alabama; Robert R. Hitt, of Illinois; Sanford B. Dole, of Hawaii, and Walter B. Freer, of Hawaii, as commissioners to confer and recommend to congress such legislation concerning the Hawaiian islands as they should deem necessary or proper. The commissioners having fulfilled the mission confided to them, their report will be laid before you at an early day.

"It is believed that their recommendations will have the earnest consideration due to the magnitude of the responsibility resting upon you to give such shape to the relationship of those mid-Pacific lands to our home union as will benefit both in the highest degree, realizing the aspirations of the community that has cast its lot with us and elected to share our political heritage, while at the same time justifying the foresight of those who for three-quarters of a century have looked to the annexation of Hawaii as a natural and inevitable consummation, in harmony with our needs and in fulfillment of our cherished traditions.

"The questions heretofore pending between Hawaii and Japan, growing out of the alleged mistreatment of Japanese treaty immigrants, were, I am pleased to say, adjusted before the act of transfer by the payment of a reasonable indemnity to the government of Japan.

"Under the provisions of the joint resolution the existing customs relations of the Hawaiian islands with the United States and with other countries remain unchanged until legislation shall otherwise provide. The consuls of Hawaii here and in foreign countries continue to fulfill their commercial agencies, while the United States consulate at Honolulu is maintained for all proper services pertaining to trade and the revenue. It would be desirable that all foreign consuls in the Hawaiian islands should receive new exequaturs from this government."

Hawaii is, from a naval standpoint, the great strategic base of the Pacific. Under the present conditions of naval warfare, the result of the use of steam as a motive power, Hawaii secures to the maritime nation possessing it, an immense advantage as a depot for the supply of coal. Possessing Hawaii, the United States is able to advance its line of defense 2,000 miles from the Pacific coast, and, with a fortified harbor, and a strong fleet at Honolulu, is in a position to conduct either defensive or offensive operations in the North Pacific to greater advantage than any other power.

For practical purposes, there are eight islands in the Hawaiian group. The others are mere rocks, of no value at present. These eight islands, beginning from the northwest, are named Niihau, Kauai, Oahu, Molokai, Lanai, Kahoolawe, Maui and Hawaii. The areas of the islands are:

	Square miles.
Niihau	97
Kauai	590
Oahu	600
Molokai	270
Maui	760
Lanai	150
Kahoolawe	63
Hawaii	4,210
Total	6,740

On Oahu is the capital, Honolulu. It is a city numbering 30,000 inhabitants, and is pleasantly situated on the south side of the Island. The city extends a considerable distance up Nuuanu Valley, and has wings extending northwest and southeast. Except in the business blocks, every house stands in its own garden, and some of the houses are very handsome.

The city is lighted with electric light, there is a complete telephone system, and tramcars run at short intervals along the principal streets and continue out to a sea-bathing resort and public park, four miles from the city. There are numerous stores where all kinds of goods can be obtained. The public buildings are attractive and commodious. There are numerous churches, schools, a public library of over 10,000 volumes, Y. M. C. A. Hall, Masonic Temple, Odd Fellows' Hall, and theater. There is frequent steam communication with San Francisco, once a month with Victoria (British Columbia), and twice a month with New Zealand and the Australian colonies. Steamers also connect Honolulu with Japan. There are three evening daily papers published in English, one daily morning paper and two weeklies. Besides these, there are papers published in the Hawaiian, Portuguese, Japanese and Chinese languages, and also monthly magazines in various tongues.

The population of the Islands, in 1897, consisted of 109,020 persons, of whom 72,517 were males, and 36,503 females.

The other territory acquired was purely a result of the Spanish war. Porto Rico came into the Union with little resistance on the part of the people. They were as anxious, almost, to be rid of Spanish rule, as were the Cubans, and its 3,600 square miles of territory will one day be among the fairest States of our Union.

The Philippines were not so ready to receive American rule as were Hawaii and Porto Rico. No better statement of the Philippine question will be found than that of President McKinley in his message of December, 1899. He said:

"On the 10th of December, 1898, the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain was signed. It provided, among other things, that Spain should cede to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, that the United States should pay to Spain the sum of $20,000,000, and that the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories thus ceded to the United States should be determined by the congress.

"The treaty was ratified by the senate on the 6th of Febuary, 1899, and by the government of Spain on the 19th of March following. The ratifications were exchanged on the 11th of April, and the treaty publicly proclaimed. On the 2d day of March the congress voted the sum contemplated by the treaty, and the amount was paid over to the Spanish government on the 1st day of May.

"In this manner the Philippines came to the United States. The islands were ceded by the government of Spain, which had been in undisputed possession of them for centuries. They were accepted not merely by our authorized commissioners in Paris, under the direction of the executive, but by the constitutional and well-considered action of the representatives of the people of the United States in both houses of congress.

"I had every reason to believe, and I still believe, that this transfer of sovereignty was in accord with the wishes and the aspirations of the great mass of the Filipino people, not to make war.

"From the earliest moment no opportunity was lost of assuring the people of the islands of our ardent desire for their welfare, and of the intention of this government to do everything possible to advance their interests. In my order of the 19th of May, 1898, the commander of the military expedition dispatched to the Philippines was instructed to declare that we came not to make war upon the people of that country, "nor upon any party or faction among them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights."

THERE TO PRESERVE PEACE.

That there should be no doubt as to the paramount authority there, on the 17th of August it was directed that "there must be no joint occupation with the insurgents;" that the United States must preserve the peace and protect persons and property within the territory occupied by their military and naval forces; that the insurgents and all others

must recognize the military occupation and authority of the United States.

As early as December 4, before the cession, and in anticipation of that event, the commander in Manila was urged to restore peace and tranquillity and to undertake the establishment of beneficent government, which should afford the fullest security for life and property.

On December 21, after the treaty was signed, the commander of the forces of occupation was instructed "to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come, not as invaders and conquerors, but as friends to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights."

On the same day, while ordering General Otis to see that the peace should be preserved in Iloilo, he was admonished that: "It is most important that there should be no conflict with the insurgents." On the 1st day of January, 1899, urgent orders were reiterated that the kindly intentions of this government should be in every possible way communicated to the insurgents.

THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION.

On January 21 I announced my intention of dispatching to Manila a commission composed of three gentlemen of the highest character and distinction, thoroughly acquainted with the orient, who, in association with Admiral Dewey and Major-General Otis, were instructed to "facilitate the most humane and effective extension of authority throughout the islands, and to secure with the least possible delay the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants."

These gentlemen were Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell University; Hon. Charles Denby, for many years minister to China, and Prof. Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan, who had made a most careful study of life in the Philippines.

While the treaty of peace was under consideration in the senate these commissioners set out on their mission of good will and liberation. Their character was a sufficient guaranty of the beneficent purpose with which they went, even if they had not borne the positive instructions of this government, which made their errand pre-eminently one of peace and friendship.

BLAMES PHILIPPINE LEADERS.

Before their arrival at Manila the sinister ambition of a few leaders of the Filipinos had created a situation full of embarrassments for us and most grievous in its consequences to themselves. The clear and impartial preliminary report of the commissioners, which I transmit herewith, gives so lucid and comprehensive a history of the present

insurrectionary movement that the story need not be here repeated. It is enough to say that the claim of the rebel leader that he was promised independence by any officer of the United States in return for his assistance has no foundation in fact and is categorically denied by the very witnesses who were called to prove it. The most the insurgent leader hoped for when he came back to Manila was the liberation of the islands from Spanish control, which they had been laboring for years without success to throw off.

THE AMBITION OF AGUINALDO.

The prompt accomplishment of this work by the American army and navy gave him other ideas and ambitions, and insidious suggestions from various quarters perverted the purposes and intentions with which he had taken up arms. No sooner had our army captured Manila than the Filipino forces began to assume the attitude of suspicion and hostility which the utmost efforts of our officers and troops were unable to disarm or modify.

Their kindness and forbearance were taken as a proof of cowardice. The aggressions of the Filipinos continually increased, until finally, just before the time set by the senate of the United States for a vote upon the treaty, an attack, evidently prepared in advance, was made all along the American lines, which resulted in a terribly destructive and sanguinary repulse of the insurgents.

ORDER FOR A MASSACRE.

Ten days later an order of the insurgent government was issued to its adherents who had remained in Manila, of which General Otis justly observes that "for barbarous intent it is unequaled in modern times."

It directs that at 8 o'clock on the night of the 15th of February, the territorial militia shall come together in the streets of San Pedro, armed with their bolos, with guns and ammunition, where convenient; that Filipino families only shall be respected; but that all other individuals, of whatever race they may be, shall be exterminated without any compassion, after the extermination of the army of occupation, and adds:

"Brothers, we must avenge ourselves on the Americans and exterminate them, that we may take our revenge for the infamies and treacheries which they have committed upon us. Have no compassion upon them; attack with vigor."

A copy of this fell, by good fortune, into the hands of our officers, and they were able to take measures to control the rising, which was actually attempted on the night of February 22, a week later than was originally contemplated.

Considerable numbers of armed insurgents entered the city by waterways and swamps, and in concert with confederates inside attempted to destroy Manila by fire. They were kept in check during the night and the next day driven out of the city with heavy loss.

WHAT THE COMMISSIONERS FOUND.

This was the unhappy condition of affairs which confronted our commissioners on their arrival in Manila. They had come with the hope and intention of co-operating with Admiral Dewey and Major-General Otis in establishing peace and order in the archipelago and the largest measure of self-government compatible with the true welfare of the people. What they actually found can best be set forth in their own words:

"Deplorable as war is, the one in which we are now engaged was unavoidable to us. We were attacked by a bold, adventurous, and enthusiastic army. No alternative was left to us, except ignominious retreat.

"It is not to be conceived of that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obligations to other nations and to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our flag demanded that force should be met with force. Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission. The commission is of the opinion that there has been no time since the destruction of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our forces from the islands, either with honor to ourselves or with safety to the inhabitants."

THE REBELLION MUST BE PUT DOWN.

The course thus clearly indicated has been unflinchingly pursued. The rebellion must be put down. Civil government cannot be thoroughly established until order is restored. With a devotion and gallantry worthy of its most brilliant history the army, ably and loyally assisted by the navy, has carried on this unwelcome but most righteous campaign with richly deserved success.

The noble self-sacrifice with which our soldiers and sailors whose terms of service had expired refused to avail themselves of their right to return home as long as they were needed at the front, forms one of the brightest pages in our annals.

Although their operations have been somewhat interrupted and checked by a rainy season of unusual violence and duration, they have gained ground steadily in every direction, and now look forward confidently to a speedy completion of their task.

WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION.

The unfavorable circumstances connected with an active campaign have not been permitted to interfere with the equally important work of reconstruction. Again I invite your attention to the report of the commissioners for the interesting and encouraging details of the work already accomplished in the establishment of peace and order and the inauguration of self-governing municipal life in many portions of the archipelago.

GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED IN NEGROS.

A notable beginning has been made in the establishment of a government in the island of Negros, which is deserving of special consideration. This was the first island to accept American sovereignty. Its people unreservedly proclaimed allegiance to the United States and adopted a constitution looking to the establishment of a popular government.

It was impossible to guarantee to the people of Negros that the constitution so adopted should be the ultimate form of government. Such a question, under the treaty with Spain, and in accordance with our own constitution and laws, came exclusively within the jurisdiction of congress. The government actually set up by the inhabitants of Negros eventually proved unsatisfactory to the natives themselves. A new system was put into force by order of the major-general commanding the department, of which the following are the most important elements:

It was ordered that the government of the island of Negros should consist of a military governor appointed by the United States military governor of the Philippines, and a civil governor, and an advisory council elected by the people. The military governor was authorized to appoint secretaries of the treasury, interior, agriculture, public instruction, an attorney-general, and an auditor. The seat of government was fixed at Bacolor.

The military governor exercises the supreme executive power. He is to see that the laws are executed, appoint to office, and fill all vacancies in office not otherwise provided for, and may, with the approval of the military governor of the Philippines, remove any officer from office.

The civil governor advises the military governor on all public civil questions and presides over the advisory council. He in general performs the duties which are performed by secretaries of state in our own system of government.

The advisory council consists of eight members elected by the people within territorial limits which are defined in the order of the commanding general.

VOTING IN NEGROS.

The times and places of holding elections are to be fixed by the military governor of the island of Negros. The qualifications of voters are as follows:

1. A voter must be a male citizen of the island of Negros. 2. Of the age of 21 years. 3. He shall be able to speak, read, and write the English, Spanish, or Visayan language, or he must own real property worth $500, or pay a rental on real property of the value of $1,000. 4. He must have resided in the island not less than one year preceding, and in the district in which he offers to register as a voter not less than three months immediately preceding the time he offers to register. 5. He must register at a time fixed by law before voting. 6. Prior to such registration he shall have paid all taxes due by him to the government; provided, that no insane person shall be allowed to register or vote.

The military governor has the right to veto all bills or resolutions adopted by the advisory council, and his veto is final if not disapproved by the military governor of the Philippines.

The advisory council discharges all the ordinary duties of a legislature. The usual duties pertaining to said offices are to be performed by the secretaries of the treasury, interior, agriculture, public instruction, the attorney-general, and the auditor.

The judicial power is vested in three judges, who are to be appointed by the military governor of the island. Inferior courts are to be established.

Free public schools are to be established throughout the populous districts of the island, in which the English language shall be taught, and this subject will receive the careful consideration of the advisory council.

The burden of government must be distributed equally and equitably among the people. The military authorities will collect and receive the customs revenue and will control postal matters and Philippine inter-island trade and commerce.

The military governor, subject to the approval of the military governor of the Philippines, determines all questions not specifically provided for and which do not come under the jurisdiction of the advisory council.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT SULU.

The authorities of the Sulu islands have accepted the succession of the United States to the rights of Spain, and our flag floats over that territory. On the 10th of August, 1899, Brigadier-General J. C. Bates, United States Volunteers, negotiated an agreement with the sultan and

his principal chiefs, which I transmit herewith. By article 1, the sovereignty of the United States over the whole archipelago of Jolo and its dependencies is declared and acknowledged.

The United States flag will be used in the archipelago and its dependencies, on land and sea. Piracy is to be suppressed, and the sultan agrees to co-operate heartily with the United States authorities to that end and to make every possible effort to arrest and bring to justice all persons engaged in piracy.

All trade in domestic products of the archipelago of Jolo when carried on with any part of the Philippine islands and under the American flag shall be free, unlimited and undutiable. The United States will give full protection to the sultan in case any foreign nation should attempt to impose upon him.

The United States will not sell the island of Jolo or any other island of the Jolo archipelago to any foreign nation without the consent of the sultan. Salaries for the sultan and his associates in the administration of the islands have been agreed upon to the amount of $760 monthly.

FREEDOM OF SLAVES IN JOLO.

Article X provides that any slave in the archipelago of Jolo shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to his master the usual market value. The agreement by General Bates was made subject to confirmation by the President and to future modifications by the consent of the parties in interest. I have confirmed said agreement, subject to the action of the congress, and with the reservation which I have directed shall be communicated to the sultan of Jolo, that this agreement is not to be deemed in any way to authorize or give the consent of the United States to the existence of slavery in the Sulu archipelago. I communicate these facts to the congress for its information and action.

WINNING THE FILIPINOS.

Everything indicates that with the speedy suppression of the Tagalo rebellion life in the archipelago will soon resume its ordinary course under the protection of our sovereignty, and the people of those favored islands will enjoy a prosperity and a freedom which they have never before known.

Already hundreds of schools are open and filled with children.

Religious freedom is sacredly assured and enjoyed.

The courts are dispensing justice.

Business is beginning to circulate in its accustomed channels.

Manila, whose inhabitants were fleeing to the country a few months ago, is now a populous and thriving mart of commerce.

McKINLEY AS FIRST LIEUTENANT TWENTY-THIRD OHIO O. V. I.
(Taken December, 1862.)

The earnest and unremitting endeavors of the commission and the admiral and major-general commanding the department of the Pacific to assure the people of the beneficent intentions of this government have had their legitimate effect in convincing the great mass of them that peace and safety and prosperity and staple government can only be found in a loyal acceptance of the authority of the United States.

FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES RESTS WITH CONGRESS.

The future government of the Philippines rests with the congress of the United States. Few graver responsibilities have ever been confided to us.

If we accept them in a spirit worthy of our race and our traditions, a great opportunity comes with them. The islands lie under the shelter of our flag. They are ours by every title of law and equity. They can not be abandoned.

If we desert them we leave them at once to anarchy and finally to barbarism. We fling them, a golden apple of discord, among the rival powers, no one of which could permit another to seize them unquestioned. Their rich plains and valleys would be the scene of endless strife and bloodshed.

The advent of Dewey's fleet in Manila bay instead of being, as we hope, the dawn of a new day of freedom and progress, will have been the beginning of an era of misery and violence worse than any which has darkened their unhappy past.

The suggestion has been made that we could renounce our authority over the islands and, giving them independence, could retain a protectorate over them.

A PROTECTORATE NOT DESIRABLE.

This proposition will not be found, I am sure, worthy of your serious attention. Such an arrangement would involve at the outset a cruel breach of faith. It would place the peaceable and loyal majority, who ask nothing better than to accept our authority, at the mercy of the minority of armed insurgents. It would make us responsible for the acts of the insurgent leaders and give us no power to control them. It would charge us with the task of protecting them against each other, and defending them against any foreign power with which they chose to quarrel. In short, it would take from the congress of the United States the power of declaring war and vest that tremendous prerogative in the Tagal leader of the hour.

NO RECOMMENDATION FOR A FINAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

It does not seem desirable that I should recommend at this time a

specific and final form of government for these islands. When peace shall be restored it will be the duty of congress to construct a plan of government which shall establish and maintain freedom and order and peace in the Philippines.

The insurrection is still existing, and when it terminates further information will be required as to the actual condition of affairs before inaugurating a permanent scheme of civil government. The full report of the commission, now in preparation, will contain information and suggestions which will be of value to congress, and which I will transmit as soon as it is completed. As long as the insurrection continues the military arm must necessarily be supreme. But there is no reason why steps should not be taken from time to time to inaugurate governments essentially popular in their form as fast as territory is held or controlled by our troops.

MAY SEND BACK THE COMMISSION.

To this end I am considering the advisability of the return of the commission, or such of the members thereof as can be secured, to aid the existing authorities and facilitate this work throughout the islands.

I have believed that reconstruction should not begin by the establishment of one central civil government for all the islands, with its seat at Manila, but rather that the work should be commenced by building up from the bottom, first establishing municipal governments and then provincial governments, a central government at last to follow.

WILL UPHOLD THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Until congress shall have made known the formal expression of its will I shall use the authority vested in me by the constitution and the statutes to uphold the sovereignty of the United States in these distant islands as in all other places where our flag rightfully floats.

I shall put at the disposal of the army and navy all the means which the liberality of congress and the people has provided to cause this unprovoked and wasteful insurrection to cease.

If any orders of mine were required to insure the merciful conduct of military and naval operations, they would not be lacking, but every step of the progress of our troops has been marked by a humanity which has surprised even the misguided insurgents.

KINDNESS TO FILIPINOS IS IN THE DEFEAT OF AGUINALDO.

The truest kindness to them will be a swift and effective defeat of their present leader. The hour of victory will be the hour of clemency and reconstruction.

No effort will be spared to build up the waste places desolated by war and by long years of misgovernment. We shall not wait for the end of strife to begin the beneficent work. We shall continue, as we have begun, to open the schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster industry, and trade, and agriculture, and in every way in our power to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction feel that it is their liberty and not our power, their welfare and not our gain, we are seeking to enhance.

OUR FLAG EVER WAVES IN BLESSING.

Our flag has never waved over any community but in blessing. I believe the Filipinos will soon recognize the fact that it has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores.

Since the above message was written, the islands have been almost wholly tranquilized, and civil government is rapidly being established.

CHAPTER XVI.

Meets the Crisis in China.

The firmness and wisdom with which the President met the trouble with Spain did not end his experiences in foreign warfare. The crisis in the affairs of the Chinese empire, which threatened its dismemberment, engaged his attention. Here, as on all other great occasions, the firmness and honesty of the President was displayed, and to it is in no small measure due the settlement of questions which threatened the peace of the civilized world. For a recital of the events attending the rebellion in China, we turn again to the President's own words. In his message of December 3, 1900, he said:

"In our foreign intercourse the dominant question has been the treatment of the Chinese problem. Apart from this our relations with the powers have been happy.

"The recent troubles in China sprang from the anti-foreign agitation which for the past three years has gained strength in the northern provinces. Their origin lies deep in the character of the Chinese races and in the traditions of their government. The Tai-Ping rebellion and the opening of the Chinese ports to foreign trade and settlement disturbed alike the homogeneity and the seclusion of China.

Meanwhile foreign activity made itself felt in all quarters, not alone on the coast, but along the great river arteries and in the remoter districts, carrying new ideas and introducing new associations among a primitive people which had pursued for centuries a national policy of isolation.

"The telegraph and the railway spreading over their land, the steamers plying on their waterways, the merchant and the missionary penetrating year by year farther to the interior, became to the Chinese mind types of an alien invasion, changing the course of their national life and fraught with vague forebodings of disaster to their beliefs and their self-control.

"For several years before the present troubles all the resources of foreign diplomacy, backed by moral demonstrations of the physical force of fleets and arms, have been needed to secure due respect for the treaty rights of foreigners and to obtain satisfaction from the responsible

authorities for the sporadic outrages upon the persons and property of unoffending sojourners, which from time to time occurred at widely separated points in the northern provinces, as in the case of the outbreaks in Sze-Chuen and Shan-Tung.

"Posting of anti-foreign placards became a daily occurrence, which the repeated reprobation of the imperial power failed to check or punish. These inflammatory appeals to the ignorance and superstition of the masses, mendacious and absurd in their accusations and deeply hostile in their spirit, could not but work cumulative harm. They aimed at no particular class of foreigners; they were impartial in attacking everything foreign.

"An outbreak in Shan-Tung, in which German missionaries were slain, was the too natural result of these malevolent teachings. The posting of seditious placards, exhorting to the utter destruction of foreigners and of every foreign thing, continued unrebuked. Hostile demonstrations toward the stranger gained strength by organization.

OFFICIALS CULPABLE.

"The sect commonly styled the Boxers developed greatly in the provinces north of the Yang-Tse, and with the collusion of many notable officials, including some in the immediate councils of the throne itself, became alarmingly aggressive. No foreigner's life, outside of the protected treaty ports, was safe. No foreign interest was secure from spoliation.

"The diplomatic representatives of the powers in Peking strove in vain to check this movement. Protest was followed by demand and demand by renewed protest, to be met with perfunctory edicts from the palace and evasions and futile assurances from the tsung-li-yamen. The circle of the Boxer influence narrowed about Peking, and, while nominally stigmatized as seditious, it was felt that its spirit pervaded the capital itself, that the imperial forces were imbued with its doctrines, and that the immediate counselors of the empress dowager were in full sympathy with the anti-foreign movement.

"The increasing gravity of the conditions in China and the imminence or peril to our own diversified interests in the empire, as well as to those of all other treaty governments, were soon appreciated by this government, causing it profound solicitude.

AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH CHINA.

"The United States, from the earliest days of foreign intercourse with China, had followed a policy of peace, omitting no occasions to testify good will, to further the extension of lawful trade, to respect

the sovereignty of its government, and to insure by all legitimate and kindly but earnest means the fullest measure of protection for the lives and property of our law-abiding citizens and for the exercise of their beneficent callings among the Chinese people.

"Mindful of this, it was felt to be appropriate that our purposes should be pronounced in favor of such course as would hasten united action of the powers at Peking to promote the administrative reforms so greatly needed for strengthening the imperial government and maintaining the integrity of China, in which we believed the whole western world to be alike concerned.

"To these ends I caused to be addressed to the several powers occupying territory and maintaining spheres of influence in China the circular proposals of 1899, inviting from them declarations of their intentions and views as to the desirability of the adoption of measures insuring the benefits of equality of treatment of all foreign trade throughout China.

EARLY NEGOTIATIONS SUCCESSFUL.

"With gratifying unanimity the responses coincided in this common policy, enabling me to see in the successful termination of these negotiations proof of the friendly spirit which animates the various powers interested in the untrammeled development of commerce and industry in the Chinese empire as a source of vast benefit to the whole commercial world.

"In this conclusion, which I had the gratification to announce as a completed engagement to the interested powers on March 20, 1900, I hopefully discerned a potential factor for the abatement of the distrust of foreign purposes which for a year past had appeared to inspire the policy of the imperial government, and for the effective exertion by it of power and authority to quell the critical anti-foreign movement in the northern provinces most immediately influenced by the Manchu sentiment.

"Seeking to testify confidence in the willingness and ability of the imperial administration to redress the wrongs and prevent the evils we suffered and feared, the marine guard, which had been sent to Peking in the autumn of 1899 for the protection of the legation, was withdrawn at the earliest practicable moment, and all pending questions were remitted, as far as we were concerned, to the ordinary reports of diplomatic intercourse.

"The Chinese government proved, however, unable to check the rising strength of the Boxers and appeared to be a prey to internal dissensions.

TUAN THE LEADER.

In the unequal contest the anti-foreign influences soon gained the ascendency under the leadership of Prince Tuan. Organized armies of Boxers, with which the imperial forces affiliated, held the country between Peking and the coast, penetrated into Manchuria up to the Russian border, and through their emissaries threatened a like rising throughout northern China.

"Attacks upon foreigners, destruction of their property, and slaughter of native converts were reported from all sides. The tsung-li-yamen, already permeated with hostile sympathies, could make no effective response to the appeals of the legations. At this critical juncture, in the early spring of this year, a proposal was made by the other powers that a combined fleet should be assembled in Chinese waters as a moral demonstration, under cover of which to exact of the Chinese government respect for foreign treaty rights and the suppression of the Boxers.

The United States, while not participating in the joint demonstration, promptly sent from the Philippines all ships that could be spared for service on the Chinese coast. A small force of marines was landed at Taku and sent to Peking for the protection of the American legation. Other powers took similar action, until some 400 men were assembled in the capital as legation guards.

"Still the peril increased. The legations reported the development of the seditious movement in Peking and the need of increased provision for defense against it. While preparations were in progress for a larger expedition, to strengthen the legation guards and keep the railway open, an attempt of the foreign ships to make a landing at Taku was met by a fire from the Chinese forts.

"The forts were thereupon shelled by the foreign vessels, the American admiral taking no part in the attack, on the ground that we were not at war with China and that a hostile demonstration might consolidate the anti-foreign elements and strengthen the Boxers to oppose the relieving column.

"Two days later the Taku forts were captured after a sanguinary conflict. Severance of communication with Peking followed, and a combined force of additional guards, which was advancing to Peking by the Pei-Ho was checked at Lang Fang. The isolation of the legations was complete.

"The siege and the relief of the legations have passed into undying history. In all the stirring chapter which records the heroism of the devoted band, clinging to hope in the face of despair, and the undaunted spirit that led their relievers through battle and suffering to the goal, it is a memory of which my countrymen may be justly proud that the honor of our flag was maintained alike in the siege and the rescue, and

that stout American hearts have again set high, in fervent emulation with true men of other race and language, the indomitable courage that ever strikes for the cause of right and justice.

MURDER OF VON KETTELER.

"By June 19 the legations were cut off. An identical note from the yamen ordered each minister to leave Peking, under a promised escort, within twenty-four hours. To gain time they replied, asking prolongation of the time, which was afterward granted, and requesting an interview with the tsung-li-yamen on the following day.

"No reply being received, on the morning of the 20th the German minister, Baron von Ketteler, set out for the yamen to obtain a response, and on the way was murdered.

"An attempt by the legation guard to recover his body was foiled by the Chinese. Armed forces turned out against the legations. Their quarters were surrounded and attacked. The mission compounds were abandoned, their inmates taking refuge in the British legation, where all other legations and guards gathered for more effective defense. Four hundred persons were crowded in its narrow compass. Two thousand native converts were assembled in a near by palace under protection of the foreigners. Lines of defense were strengthened, trenches dug, barricades raised, and preparations made to stand a siege, which at once began.

QUOTES CONGER'S REPORT.

"'From June 29 until July 17,' writes Minister Conger, 'there was scarcely an hour during which there was not firing upon some part of our lines and into some of the legations, varying from a single shot to a general and continuous attack along the whole line.'

"Artillery was placed around the legations and on the overlooking palace walls, and thousands of three-inch bullets and shell were fired, destroying some buildings and damaging all. So thickly did the balls rain that, when the ammunition of the besieged ran low, five quarts of Chinese bullets were gathered in an hour in one compound and recast.

"Attempts were made to burn the legations by setting neighboring houses on fire, but the flames were successfully fought off, although the Austrian, Belgian, Italian, and Dutch legations were then and subsequently burned. With the aid of the native converts, directed by the missionaries, to whose helpful co-operation Mr. Conger awards unstinted praise, the British legation was made a veritable fortress. The British minister, Sir Claude Macdonald, was chosen general commander of the defense, with the secretary of the American legation, E. G. Squires, as chief of staff.

"To save life and ammunition the besieged sparingly returned the incessant fire of the Chinese soldiery, fighting only to repel attack or make an occasional successful sortie for strategic advantage, such as that of fifty-five Americans, British, and Russian marines led by Captain Myers of the United States Marine corps, which resulted in the capture of a formidable barricade on the wall that gravely menaced the American position. It was held to the last, and proved an invaluable acquisition, because commanding the water gate through which the relief column entered.

"During the siege the defenders lost sixty-five killed, 135 wounded, and seven by disease—the last all children.

"On July 14 the besieged had their first communication with the tsung-li-yamen, from whom a message came inviting to a conference, which was declined. Correspondence, however, ensued, and a sort of armistice was agreed upon, which stopped the bombardment and lessened the rifle fire for a time. Even then no protection whatever was afforded, nor any aid given, save to send to the legations a small supply of fruit and three sacks of flour.

IMPERIAL TROOPS GUILTY.

"Indeed, the only communication had with the Chinese government related to the occasional delivery or dispatch of a telegram or to the demands of the tsung-li-yamen for the withdrawal of the legation to the coast under escort. Not only are the protestations of the Chinese government that it protected and succored the legations positively contradicted, but irresistible proof accumulates that the attacks upon them were made by the imperial troops, regularly uniformed, armed, and officered, belonging to the command of Jung Lu, the imperial commander-in-chief.

"Decrees encouraging the Boxers, organizing them under prominent imperial officers, provisioning them, and even granting them large sums in the name of the empress dowager, are known to exist. Members of the tsung-li-yamen who counseled protection of the foreigners were beheaded. Even in the distant provinces men suspected of foreign sympathy were put to death, prominent among these being Chang-Yen-Hoon, formerly Chinese minister in Washington.

"With the negotiation of the partial armistice of July 14, a proceeding which was doubtless promoted by the representations of the Chinese envoy in Washington, the way was opened for the conveyance to Mr. Conger of a test message sent by the secretary of state through the kind offices of Minister Wu-Ting-Fang. Mr. Conger's reply dispatched from Peking on July 18 through the same channel, afforded

to the outside world the first tidings that the inmates of the legations were still alive and hoping for succor.

"This news stimulated the preparations for a joint relief expedition in numbers sufficient to overcome the resistance which for a month had been organizing between Taku and the capital. Re-inforcements sent by all the co-operating governments were constantly arriving. The United States contingent, hastily assembled from the Philippines or dispatched from this country, amounted to some 5,000 men, under the able command first of the lamented Col. Liscum and afterward of Gen. Chaffee.

"Toward the end of July the movement began. A severe conflict followed at Tientsin, in which Col. Liscum was killed. The city was stormed and partly destroyed. Its capture afforded the base of operations from which to make the final advance, which began in the first days of August, the expedition being made up of Japanese, Russian, British and American troops at the outset.

"Another battle was fought and won at Yang Tsun. Thereafter the disheartened Chinese troops offered little show of resistance. A few days later the important position of Ho-Si-Woo was taken. A rapid march brought the united forces to the populous city of Tung Chow, which capitulated without a contest.

"On August 14 the capital was reached. After a brief conflict beneath the walls the relief column entered and the legations were saved.

"The United States soldiers, sailors and marines, officers and men alike, in those distant climes and unusual surroundings, showed the same valor, discipline and good conduct and gave proof of the same high degree of intelligence and efficiency which have distinguished them in every emergency.

"The imperial family and the government had fled a few days before. The city was without visible control. The remaining imperial soldiery had made on the night of the 13th a last attempt to exterminate the besieged, which was gallantly repelled. It fell to the occupying forces to restore order and organize a provisional administration.

"Happily the acute disturbances were confined to the northern provinces. It is a relief to recall and a pleasure to record the loyal conduct of the viceroys and local authorities of the southern and eastern provinces.

"Their efforts were continuously directed to the pacific control of the vast populations under their rule and to the scrupulous observance of foreign treaty rights.

"At critical moments they did not hesitate to memorialize the throne, urging the protection of the legations, the restoration of communication and the assertion of the imperial authority against the subversive ele-

ments. They maintained excellent relations with the official representatives of foreign powers. To their kindly disposition is largely due the success of the consuls in removing many of the missionaries from the interior to places of safety. In this relation the action of the consuls should be highly commended. In Shan-Tung and eastern Chi-Li the task was difficult, but, thanks to their energy and the co-operation of American and foreign naval commanders, hundreds of foreigners, including those of other nationalities than ours, were rescued from imminent peril.

UNITED STATES POLICY UNCHANGED.

"The policy of the United States through all this trying period was clearly announced and scrupulously carried out. A circular note to the powers dated July 3 proclaimed our attitude. Treating the condition in the north as one of virtual anarchy, in which the great provinces of the south and southeast had no share, we regarded the local authorities in the latter quarters as representing the Chinese people with whom we sought to remain in peace and friendship.

"Our declared aims involved no war against the Chinese nation. We adhered to the legitimate office of rescuing the imperiled legation, obtaining redress for wrongs already suffered, securing wherever possible the safety of American life and property in China, and preventing a spread of the disorders or their recurrence.

"As was then said, 'the policy of the government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese empire.'

"Faithful to those professions which, as it proved, reflected the views and purposes of the other co-operating governments, all our efforts have been directed toward ending the anomalous situation in China by negotiations for a settlement at the earliest possible moment. As soon as the sacred duty of relieving our legation and its dependents was accomplished we withdrew from active hostilities, leaving our legation under an adequate guard at Peking as a channel of negotiation and settlement—a course adopted by others of the interested powers. Overtures of the empowered representatives of the Chinese emperor have been considerably entertained.

"The Russian proposition looking to the restoration of imperial power in Peking has been accepted as in full consonance with our own desires, for we have held, and hold, that effective reparation for wrongs suffered, and an enduring settlement that will make their recurrence im-

possible, can best be brought about under an authority which the Chinese nation reverences and obeys. While so doing we forego no jot of our undoubted right to exact exemplary and deterrent punishments of the responsible authors and abettors of the criminal acts whereby we and other nations must have suffered grievous injury.

MUST PUNISH CULPRITS.

"For the real culprits, the evil counselors who have misled the imperial judgment and diverted the sovereign authority to their own guilty ends, full explanation becomes imperative within the rational limits of retributive justice. Regarding this as the initial condition of an acceptable settlement between China and the powers, I said in my message of October 18 to the Chinese emperor:

"I trust that negotiations may begin so soon as we and the other offended governments shall be effectively satisfied of your majesty's ability and power to treat with just sternness the principal offenders, who are doubly culpable, not only toward the foreigners, but toward your majesty, under whose rule the purpose of China is to dwell in concord with the world had hitherto found expression in the welcome and protection assured to strangers.

"Taking, as a point of departure, the imperial edict appointing Earl Li Hung Chang and Prince Ching plenipotentiaries to arrange a settlement, and the edict of Sept. 25, whereby certain high officials were designated for punishment, this government has moved, in concert with the other powers, toward the opening of negotiations, which Mr. Conger, assisted by Mr. Rockhill, has been authorized to conduct on behalf of the United States.

"General bases of negotiation formulated by the government of the French republic have been accepted with certain reservations as to details, made necessary by our own circumstances, but, like similar reservations by other powers, open to discussion in the progress of the negotiations. The disposition of the emperor's government to admit liability for wrongs done to foreign governments and their nationals, and to act upon such additional designation of the guilty persons as the foreign ministers at Peking may be in a position to make, gives hope of a complete settlement of all questions involved, assuring foreign rights of residence and intercourse on terms of equality for all the world.

"I regard as one of the essential factors of a durable adjustment the securement of adequate guarantees for liberty of faith, since insecurity of those natives who may embrace alien creeds is a scarcely less effectual assault upon the rights of foreign worship and teaching than would be the direct invasion thereof.

"The matter of indemnity for our wronged citizens is a question of grave concern. Measured in money alone, a sufficient reparation may prove to be beyond the ability of China to meet. All the powers concur in emphatic disclaimers of any purpose of aggrandizement through the dismemberment of the empire.

"I am disposed to think that due compensation may be made in part by increased guarantees of security for foreign rights and immunities, and, most important of all, by the opening of China to the equal commerce of all the world. These views have been and will be earnestly advocated by our representatives.

"The government of Russia has put forward a suggestion that in the event of protracted divergence of views in regard to indemnities the matter may be relegated to the court of arbitration at The Hague. I favorably incline to this, believing that high tribunal could not fail to reach a solution no less conducive to the stability and enlarged prosperity of China itself than immediately beneficial to the powers."

From the first invasion of China by foreign troops, the president pronounced firmly against any settlement of the trouble which included a partition of the empire. It was believed that such an act was contemplated by some of the European nations, and President McKinley made it clear that such a thing could never be consummated with the consent of this government. As a result of this stand a settlement was reached, which is believed to have been just and honorable to all.

CHAPTER XVII.

Renominated and Re-Elected President.

Four years of William McKinley's rule had worked wonders for the American republic. Before his election there had been lethargy in commercial circles. Industry had been circumscribed, prices were low, and money was scarce. Immediately upon the announcement of his election, the material condition of the country began to improve. Capital came out of its hiding place. The captains of industry took their place in the ranks, and the prosperity of which he had talked during the summer of 1896, at Canton, began to dawn.

Before the end of his first term, the country had been placed on a sound financial basis, the question of tariffs had been adjusted to the satisfaction of the majority of the people, a great war had been fought, and by far the greater number of the victorious armies had returned to pursuits of peace. More than one hundred thousand square miles of territory had been added to the country, and the administration was engaged in establishing government over these new sections, and providing for the welfare of their peoples.

Under such circumstances there was only one name mentioned for the presidency among republicans in 1900, and that was William McKinley.

The convention met in Philadelphia, June 19. It was called to order by Senator M. A. Hanna, chairman of the national committee, amidst the greatest enthusiasm. There were 906 delegates, and they shouted with an exuberance rarely heard apart from such a gathering. In his opening remarks, Chairman Hanna said: "We are now forming our battalions under the leadership of our general, William McKinley," and a roar arose that continued for several minutes. He then introduced Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, as temporary chairman of the convention. In his address, Senator Wolcott said:

"The spirit of justice and liberty that animated our fathers found voice three-quarters of a century later in this same City of Brotherly Love, when Fremont led the forlorn hope of united patriots who laid here the foundation of our party, and put human freedom as its corner-stone. It compelled our ears to listen to the cry of suffering across the shallow waters of the gulf two years ago. While we observe the law

of nations and maintain that neutrality which we owe to a great and friendly government, the same spirit lives today in the genuine sympathy we cherish for the brave men now fighting for their homes in the veldts of South Africa. It prompts us in our determination to give the dusky races of the Philippines the blessings of good government and republican institutions, and finds voice in our indignant protest against the violent suppression of the rights of the colored men in the south. That spirit will survive in the breasts of patriotic men as long as the nation endures, and the events of the past have taught us that it can find its fair and free and full expression only in the principles and policy of the republican party.

"The first and pleasant duty of this great convention, as well as its instinctive impulse, is to send a message of affectionate greeting to our leader and our country's president, William McKinley. In all that pertains to our welfare in times of peace his genius has directed us. He has shown an unerring mastery of the economic problems which confront us, and has guided us out of the slough of financial disaster, impaired credit, and commercial stagnation, up to the high and safe ground of national prosperity and financial stability. Through the delicate and trying events of the late war he stood firm, courageous and conservative, and under his leadership we emerged triumphant, our national honor untarnished, our credit unassailed, and the equal devotion of every section of our common country to the welfare of the republic, cemented forever. Never in the memory of this generation has there stood at the head of the government a truer patriot, a wiser or more courageous leader, or a better example of the highest type of American manhood. The victories of peace and the victories of war are alike inscribed upon his banner."

The second day's proceedings of the convention introduced Senator H. C. Lodge, of Massachusetts, as the permanent chairman of the body. Twenty thousand people attended the session, in the expectation that President McKinley would be renominated, but for the time being they were disappointed. In his opening speech Chairman Lodge said:

"Dominant among the issues of four years ago was that of our monetary and financial system. The republican party promised to uphold our credit, to protect our currency from revolution and to maintain the gold standard. We have done so. Failing to secure, after honest effort, any encouragement for international bimetallism, we have passed a law strengthening the gold standard and planting it more firmly than ever in our financial system, improving our banking laws, buttressing our credit, and refunding the public debt at 2 per cent interest, the lowest rate in the world. It was a great work well done."

Concerning the war with Spain he said:

"Here they are, these great feats: A war of a hundred days, with many victories and no defeats, with no prisoners taken from us, and no advance stayed; with a triumphant outcome startling in its completeness and in its world-wide meaning. Was ever a war more justly entered upon, more quickly fought, more fully won, more thorough in its results? Cuba is free. Spain has been driven from the Western hemisphere. Fresh glory has come to our arms and crowned our flag. It was the work of the American people, but the republican party was their instrument.

"So much for the past. We are proud of it, but we do not expect to live upon it, for the republican party is pre-eminently the party of action, and its march is ever forward. The deeds of yesterday are in their turn a pledge and proof that what we promise we perform, and that the people who put faith in our declarations in 1896 were not deceived, and may place the same trust in us in 1900. But our pathway has never lain among dead issues, nor have we won our victories and made history by delving in political graveyards.

"We are the party of today, with cheerful yesterdays and confident tomorrows. The living present is ours; the present of prosperity and activity in business, of good wages and quick payments, of labor employed and capital invested; of sunshine in the market-place and the stir of abounding life in the workshop and on the farm. It is with this that we have replaced the depression, the doubts, the dull business, the low wages, the idle labor, the frightened capital, the dark clouds which overhung industry and agriculture in 1896. This is what we would preserve, so far as sound government and wise legislation can do it. This is what we offer now."

In such an atmosphere of optimism the convention proceeded to adopt the platform on which the candidate should ask the suffrages of the American electorate. That document set forth that four years before—

"When the people assembled at the polls after a term of democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry was paralyzed, and the national credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed.

"The democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions, which they had themselves produced, than to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures—a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value.

BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERAL SAMUEL FALLOWS

"The people, by great majorities, issued to the republican party a commission to enact these laws. This commission has been executed, and the republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity, more general and more abundant than we have ever known, has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar, or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any other nation. Capital is fully employed and everywhere labor is profitably occupied.

"We endorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot, and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring, and deserving the confidence of his countrymen."

The platform further declared in favor of a renewal of "allegiance to the principle of the gold standard"; of a law to effectually restrain and prevent all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production or to control prices; the protection policy was endorsed, and legislation in favor of the interests of workingmen advocated; help to American shipping, pensions for soldiers, maintenance of the civil service system, construction of an isthmian canal, and endorsement of the treaty of Paris were also favored.

This brought the convention to its third and last day's session, and it was a veritable love feast. Factional fights and all friction as to policy had been swept away. All that was now necessary was the naming of the ticket. Twenty thousand people again crowded the convention hall, and the great building was shaken again and again by the enthusiastic applause of the multitude.

Alabama yielded to Ohio when the call of states began, and Senator Foraker, to whom had been accorded the honor of nominating the president, arose and said:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: Alabama yields to Ohio, and I thank Alabama for that accommodation. Alabama has so yielded, however, by reason of a fact that would seem in an important sense to make the duty that has been assigned to me a superfluous duty, for Alabama has yielded because of the fact that our candidate for the presidency has in fact been already nominated. He was nominated by the distinguished senator from Colorado when he assumed the duties of temporary chairman. He was nominated again yesterday by the

distinguished senator from Massachusetts, when he took the office of permanent chairman, and he was nominated for a third time when the senator from Indiana yesterday read us the platform.

"And not only has he been nominated by this convention, but he was also nominated by the whole American people. From one end of this land to the other, in every mind, only one and the same man is thought of for the honor which we are now about to confer, and that man is the first choice of every other man who wishes republican success next November. Upon this account, it is indeed not necessary for me or anyone else to speak for him here or elsewhere. He has already spoken for himself, and to all the world.

"He has a record replete with brilliant achievements; a record that speaks at once both his performances and his highest energy. It comprehends both peace and war, and constitutes the most striking illustration possible of triumphant and inspiring fidelity and success in the discharge of public duty."

The nomination was seconded by Governor Roosevelt, Senator Thurston, John W. Yerkes, of Kentucky, George Knight, of California, and Governor Mount, of Indiana. When Senator Foraker pronounced the name of the president, there was a great demonstration on the part of the convention. Someone threw into the delegate's division a great bundle of red, white and blue plumes, made of pampas grass. The delegates caught them up, and with flags, handkerchiefs and state banners waving, shouted themselves hoarse. The whole convention, 906 delegates, voted for President McKinley.

Then came the nomination for vice-president. The wisdom of the convention had decided on Governor Roosevelt, and all other candidates had withdrawn from the contest. Though strongly against his inclination, the governor had agreed to accept the position. Colonel Lafayette Young, of Iowa, nominated the governor, and Butler Murray, of Massachusetts, Gen. J. M. Ashton, of Wisconsin, and Senator Depew, of New York, seconded the nomination. At the close of the convention, Senator Depew said:

"We have the best ticket ever presented. We have at the head of it a western man with eastern notions, and we have at the other end, an eastern man with western character—the statesman and the cowboy, the accomplished man of affairs, and the heroic fighter. The man who has proved great as president, and the fighter who has proved great as governor. We leave this old town simply to keep on shouting and working to make it unanimous for McKinley and for Roosevelt."

The democrats again nominated William J. Bryan, but the country was not more ready to accept this young man than it had been in 1896.

In fact, he secured fewer votes than had been given him in his previous race. President McKinley secured 7,208,244, against 6,358,789 for Mr. Bryan. In the electoral college the vote stood, President McKinley, 292; Mr. Bryan, 155.

Amidst the applause of admiring thousands, President McKinley, for the second time, took the oath of office, March 4, 1901. He retained his former cabinet ministers, and was steadfastly carrying out the great work he had begun when he was stricken down by the bullets of the assassin.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Anecdotes and Incidents in McKinley's Life.

RESPECT FOR THE SABBATH.

He had for the observance of the Sabbath the most profound respect. At one time during the presidential campaign a large party of visitors, who had arrived in Canton on Sunday morning, sent a message to Mr. McKinley, stating that they would call upon him accompanied by a band of music. He sent word in reply: "This is the Sabbath day and I cannot receive delegations, much would I have you to come with a band of music on the Sabbath. I cannot ,in any event, see you this morning, for I must go to church. I attend the First Methodist Episcopal church and would advise you to be present, and then if you really desire to call during the day, and care to drop into my home individually, or one or two at a time, for the purpose of receiving a friendly greeting, all right, but you must not come as a delegation."

SUNDAY BEFORE INAUGURATION.

An interesting incident occurred the last Sunday Mr. McKinley spent in Canton before going to Washington to be inaugurated President. He requested his pastor some days in advance to preach on that Sunday, as he did not wish to have a stranger indulge in words of eulogy to him. He said: "I want my own pastor to preach the last Sunday before I go to Washington." Once he said: "If you or any one else should begin to gush over me, I would get up and leave the church." The hymn sung on that occasion was No. 602 in the Methodist hymn-book:

"It may not be our lot to wield
The sickle in the ripened field;
Nor ours to hear, on summer eves
The reaper's song among the sheaves.

"Yet where our duty's task is wrought
In unison with God's great thought
The near and future blend in one,
And whatsoever is willed, is done.

"And ours the greatful service whence
Comes, day by day, the recompense;
The hope, the trust, the purpose stayed,
The fountain, and the noonday shade.

"And were this life the utmost span,
The only end and aim of man,
Better the toil of fields like these
Than waking dream and slothful ease."

Mr. McKinley was so pleased with the sentiment of the hymn that the next day he asked the board of trustees, as a special favor, to give him the copy of the book from which he sang the day before, saying that he had marked that hymn and that he would like to have that particular book.

MEETING A CRISIS ON A BATTLE FIELD.

It is a very dangerous thing for a military man to disobey or change the orders of his commanding officer. But a true soldier, who has later acquired information which such officer does not possess, and which if known would cause a modification of his orders, must be disobedient and take the consequences. Captain McKinley was such a soldier.

It was at the battle of Opequan, fought near Winchester, Va., September 19, 1864. Captain McKinley was acting as an aide-de-camp on the staff of General Sheridan and General Deval was commanding the second division. General Crook sent McKinley with a verbal order to General Deval, commanding him to move quickly by a certain road and take his position on the right of the Sixth corps. In going to General Deval, McKinley took this road, through a ravine, and found it almost blockaded with broken wagons, dead horses and fallen trees. It was with difficulty that he could get through and, when he reached Deval and delivered his order as given him, he added: "But, General, I have come over that road and it is so obstructed that an army could not move that way quickly enough to be of any service. There is another route, by which I am sure you could reach the place assigned you and I suggest that you take that one."

General Deval was a trained soldier and felt the responsibility of his position too much to disobey an order from his superior officer, even in the letter, but he saw the force of McKinley's suggestion. He hesitated as to what to do, and then said: "Captain, I must obey General Crook's order to the letter. What road did he say I should take?"

It was the captain's time to hesitate. He saw that General Deval's idea of military discipline would compel him to follow the order to

the letter, and he knew, from his own experience, that an army could not move along that route and reach his position in time to be of service. He answered: "General Deval, General Crook commands you to move your division along this road (mentioning the one he had suggested and take up your position on the right of the Sixth corps." General Deval accepted the order and, moving his command as directed, was able to reach his new position in time to be of great service in driving the enemy from their fortified position and saving the Union troops from defeat.

When Captain McKinley reported to General Crook what he had done, the general looked at him in amazement as he asked: "Did you fully understand the risk you took in changing the order you were intrusted to deliver to General Deval?"

"I did," was the captain's reply.

"Did you know that you were liable to be court-martialed and dismissed from the service, and, had it led to disaster, shot as a traitor?"

"I did, general, but I was willing to take that risk to save the battle."

General Crook looked the young captain in the eyes for a minute and saw that he was dealing with a man who had the courage to put aside technicalities and do his duty as judgment and conscience and absolute personal knowledge of the situation dictated, without regard to the consequences, and he said:

"Captain, you have saved the battle, and you are a brave man; but I would not advise you to take such risks again, as, in case of failure, even the officer who received the command, to do his duty in the light of your knowledge, the blame would rest upon you alone."

MCKINLEY'S FIRST LAW CASE.

It was a suit of replevin and McKinley received $25 for his work. He was at the time a student in the law office of Judge George W. Belden. He had been admitted to the bar, but having no clients, was still reading law in Belden's office. One day the old judge came in and said to McKinley:

"William, I want you to try the Blank case for me tomorrow. I find that I will not be able to attend it."

"But, judge," said McKinley, "I don't know anything about it. I have never tried a case in my life. I am afraid I can't do it."

"Oh, yes, you can," said the judge. "You have got to do it. I must go away and that case is sure to come up. Here are the papers," and with that the judge threw a lot of papers on the table beside McKinley and left.

McKinley took up the case and went into it. He sat up all night and worked at it. At 10 o'clock next day he was on hand, when the court opened. He took the place of Judge Belden, made an argument and won the case. As he was speaking he happened to look at the back of the court room and there he saw Judge Belden sitting. This seemed rather queer to him, but he afterward found that Belden had put up the job to test what he could do as a lawyer. The next day the judge came into the office and said to McKinley: "Well, William you've won the case and here is your fee." As he said this he took out his pocketbook and handed McKinley $25.

"But," said young McKinley, "I can't take that, judge. It was only a night's work. It ain't worth it and I can't take it," and with that he offered the bill to the judge.

"Oh, yes, you can," was the reply. "You have earned the money and you must take it. Besides it is all right. I shall charge my client $100 for the work and it is only right that you should have this $25." This argument overcame McKinley's scruples and he took the money.

MADE A MINISTER OUT OF A BAD PAGE.

When Mr. McKinley was a congressman there was among the pages in the house of representatives one boy who was considered to be a most incorrigible lad. And he was, at the same time, very bright. His mind occupied itself in plotting mischief, which he carried out with spirit. He was impertinent to a degree; he swore with a fluency never heard before and his battles with his companions were of daily occurrence. He was attractive—so attractive that his influence with the other boys was very great. There was danger that the whole company of boys would become demoralized, and the only remedy seemed to lie in dismissal. He had often been reprimanded, so when he was called before the authorities and informed of his dismissal he was stunned.

Mr. McKinley had liked the boy in spite of the fact that he seemed to be a little degenerate, and when he learned that the lad had been discharged he sent for him. After a long talk the future President begged that the boy be given another chance, and, much subdued, the page again took his place in the house. This was the beginning of the little drama of reformation. The boy was not all bad. He was grateful and Mr. McKinley made his good behavior a personal favor to himself. At first the boy tried to do well because it pleased Mr. McKinley, and then, because he was possessed of a strength that would not lead him to do anything by halves, he became as enthusiastic for good as he had been for evil. Time went on, and through Mr. McKinley's influence, he joined the church and, later still, with the

encouragement of his friend, he studied for the ministry. He is now a clergyman, doing splendid work in the far west. He was made a minister by the President of the United States.

HIS POPULARITY WITH THE NEWSBOYS.

While governor of Ohio, Mr. McKinley walked to and from the statehouse daily. These trips were watched for by the newsboys of Columbus, to whom they meant a golden harvest. No matter what the paper or its politics, the governor made an invariable practice of purchasing a supply from each and every newsboy who cropped up in his path or besieged him as he walked up and down the statehouse steps.

One very stormy day the governor emerged from the statehouse on his homeward trip, accompanied by a friend, who urged, in view of the storm and sleet, that the governor get home quickly and avoid the newsboys.

"No!" said the governor, "this stormy day they need me to buy their papers more than any other time. Another thing is, they will look for me, and I do not mean to disappoint them."

This was his method of distributing help to the boys willing to work for their living and who would not have liked the idea of receiving charity.

DUTY TO COUNTRY ABOVE SELF.

After the destruction of the United States battleship Maine, in Havana harbor, almost every prominent leader in the Republican party, almost every Republican member of Congress, almost every newspaper was crowding President McKinley to take radical action upon the Cuban question. His message proposing armed intevention was written, submitted to the cabinet and approved. It was all ready to send to an impatient congress, which had given notice through its committees that unless the President did something before a certain date the independence of Cuba would be recognized and war declared. While the cabinet was in session, Assistant Secretary Day entered with a cablegram from Consul-General Lee advising the department of state that it would be impossible for all the United States consuls to leave Cuba within less than ten days, and asking that if radical measures were taken, the consuls in Cuba might be assassinated or the consulates mobbed. When the President read that dispatch, he turned to his cabinet and said calmly:

"Well, we must hold up this message until all our people are out of Cuba."

"Impossible!" exclaimed two or three of his advisers in unison.

Congress will not permit twenty-four hours' delay. It will be impossible to restrain them. If you withhold that message any longer, Mr. President, you will be politically ruined," said one of them.

The President looked down at the table for a moment, thoughtfully, then, raising his eyes with a determined expression, remarked:

"The important question is not how a postponement will affect me, but how it will affect those consuls in Cuba. We have already lost enough lives. I shall hold the message."

THE PRESIDENT COULD AFFORD TO KEEP A COW.

Just after President McKinley's inauguration he had his relatives who were in the city, at a family dinner at the White House. It was a large company and a good dinner. Dear old Mother McKinley was there, but she was not very talkative. She was too happy for words. But she kept a sharp eye on the dinner, and no detail of it escaped her. She was impressed by the quantity of cream served with the fruit and coffee, for she looked up at her son in her sweetly simple way and said:

"William, you must keep a cow now."

Some of the younger members of the family party found it difficult to suppress a smile, but the President, with his usual tact and graciousness, replied:

"Yes, mother, we can afford to have a cow now, and have all the cream we can possibly use."

THE PRESIDENT'S TITLE.

Just after election, which made Mr. McKinley President-elect, an old man, one of the oldest friends of the McKinley's, called at the Canton home.

"Why, how do you do, Uncle John?" cordially exclaimed the President-elect to the farmer.

The farmer's face flushed as he replied, "Neighbor, 'taint all right to call you neighbor any more, and I want to know just how to speak to you. You used to be just Major McKinley, and then you was Lawyer McKinley, and then after a bit you was Congressman McKinley, and then you got to be Governor McKinley, but you ain't President yet."

The President-elect laughed heartily at the perplexity of his constituent, and answered:

"John, I won't have a friend of mine, such as you are, address me by any prouder title than that of major. That rank belongs to me. I am not governor any more, and I am not President yet. So you just call me plain major, which I like to be to all my friends."

THE HAPPIEST MAN IN THE COUNTRY.

Many people wonder how the President got through the amount of work required of him daily, and how he stood the strain. Perhaps as close view of him in his official life as could be presented, is found in this estimate given in 1898 by one of his closest friends, Senator Edward Wolcott, of Colorado:

"The President is, without exception, the kindest-hearted man that I have ever met. He is so good and kind in his nature that he is growing younger every day. His only worry is that when night comes he thinks of the activities of the busy day, and wonders if he has not failed to see someone who wanted to see him, or failed to do something which someone wanted him to do. Instead of growing old in the White House, the wrinkles are coming out of his face. He is the happiest man in the country. He is full of joy because the fates have placed in his hands the power to do so much good, and to show so much kindness and generosity. You can see it in his face and feel it in the touch of his hands. There is no man in this country for whom the sun shines brighter than for William McKinley. The work and worry that killed other Presidents, only warm his heart and gladden his life. Whenever I see the President I think there is a lesson in his life for us all: that we should soften our natures and strive to find pleasure in doing good, rather than in self-seeking."

HIS QUIET METHOD OF DISAPPROVAL.

Those who knew President McKinley longest say they never knew him to lose his temper or to scold even the worst offending servant. He had a quiet method of disapproval far more effective. He would select different people around him to do certain things for him. As, for instance, when some engagement called him from Washington, he would look around, and the man on whom his eyes happened to fall would be the man selected to arrange for the journey. To him, the President would say: "I want to go to Philadelphia next Tuesday on the nine o'clock train; Mrs. McKinley will go with me. Will you see to things, please?" This meant that the President looked for every detail necessary to the journey to that particular man. Personally, he gave the matter no more thought. If, however, there was a hitch in the arrangements, due to the carelessness on the part of the man detailed to attend to the matter, the President never gave expression to a word of censure nor made any comment whatever. He was always careful, however, never again to intrust similar duties to that person. This was Mr. McKinley's invariable method of expressing his disapproval.

THE PRESIDENT PROVES HIS METHODISM.

President McKinley always showed the highest degree of generosity towards his political opponents. While governor of Ohio, he was about to appoint to an exalted and lucrative office a man who for many years had been his ardent supporter, but who had deserted him and gone over to the enemy at a critical period. Later, when that critical period had passed, the deserter slipped back into his party and remained unnoticed until he became a candidate for office. Many of Governor McKinley's loyal friends earnestly protested against his appointment. They argued that the man had been a traitor when he was most needed, and that he was not entitled to consideration.

The governor's face lighted up with a smile, and he remarked: "Gentlemen, you seem to forget that I am a Methodist, and believe in the doctrine of falling from grace."

PLACES FLOWERS IN THE HANDS OF TOIL.

One morning a delegation composed of the officers of the several great labor organizations, called at the White House to ask a favor which the President could not grant. He listened attentively to the presentation of their case and then, expressing his regret that he could not oblige them, explained at length the reason why. They thanked him for his candor, and were bidding him good morning, when he took a carnation from his button-hole and pinned in on the lapel of the coat of the leader of the party. Then, taking the cluster of carnations on his desk, he distributed them among the others, saying:

"Please give these to your wives, or to your sweethearts if you are not married, with my compliments."

His visitors were horny-handed sons of toil, unaccustomed to giving and receiving nosegays, but they were touched by the delicate little compliment, and before they left the White House the flowers so graciously given were carefully stowed away in their handkerchiefs.

A PAGE'S SYMPATHY WINS HIM FAVOR.

Many years ago when Mr. McKinley was in the house of representatives, there was one page who always waited on him. When Mr. McKinley was unseated in 1890, by Mr. Warwick, it became necessary to move his papers and books and the flowers that had been sent to him, from his desk in the house of representatives to the hotel where he was stopping. He asked the page to attend to the matter.

The boy secured a carriage, paid a dollar to the driver, and carried the things to the room of the ex-congressman. Mr. McKinley thanked him heartily, and put five dollars in his hand when he said good-by.

The page shrank back. With his hands behind him, he said: "Oh, no, Mr. McKinley, I could not take money from you now."

Mr. McKinley looked at the boy kindly, and as he shook his hand said: "I understand you, and I want you to know that I appreciate your sympathy. I shall not forget it. Perhaps some day I shall be able to show you that."

Years after, a young man called at the White House, and as he gave his name to the President, he modestly added: "I used to be your page."

"I remember you very well," replied the President, "and I have not forgotten one very kind act of yours."

He was not an office seeker, but merely called to pay his respects. Before the week was over, however, the former page was appointed to a responsible office in the District.

SERVICE TO A POLITICAL OPPONENT.

McKinley's name has been the synonym for the policy of protection to American industries. One story told of McKinley as chairman of the committee on ways and means, illustrates how he looked upon this question, not as a political issue, but one of national import, important for all the people.

A manufacturer, who was a democrat, went to McKinley's rooms at the Ebbitt house, in Washington, one evening, and said to him: "Mr. McKinley, I have been to my member, who is a democrat like myself, to have him help me to get a hearing before your committee. I have been to my senator, who is a democrat, and I have been to others, and they all failed me. Now, I have come to you. I have no claim on you, but I want to ask the privilege of representing my case."

McKinley sat with the man until after midnight, listened to his presentation, searched the records, went over the tariff schedules and at last said to the manufacturer, who was an entire stranger to him: "Your claim is just. I thank you for bringing it to me. We should have made a mistake had we left the schedule as it is. I will see that it is changed." The story illustrates that Major McKinley's devotion to the policy of protection was not because it was a republican doctrine, but because for more than twenty-five years he believed it to be the most important question to the American people.

M'KINLEY'S COURTSHIP.

Mrs. McKinley was the first child of James and Mary Saxton, of Canton. As a child and young woman, she was vivacious, and had friends among all classes. She had then the happy faculty of becoming

endeared to those who knew her—a trait which is hers still. Her education was obtained in the public schools of Canton, at a school in Cleveland, and later at Brook Hall seminary, Media, Pa., then under the charge of Miss Eastman, who was a well-known educator of that time. Here, Mrs. McKinley, then Ida Saxton, spent three years. After this, she spent six months with a party of friends visiting points of interest in Europe.

When she returned to Canton, a young woman, handsome and refined, a career of belleship was open to her. She added to her charming manners a dash of coquetry, just enough to make the young men eager to be a friend of the worthy young woman.

Her father was a man of staid character and pronounced opinions. He was then a banker, and he concluded to give his daughter such a training as would fit her to cope with all the duties of woman, new or old. Accordingly, Miss Ida was installed as assistant in the bank, and there is a common saying here that her fair face attracted bouquets and bank-notes to the window. "She must be trained," said her father, "to buy her own bread if necessary, and not to sell herself to matrimony."

Mr. Saxton had married happily, and he jealously guarded his daughter. His placing her in the bank was a master-stroke. She was having business to think about, and was fitting herself for the trials of life and adversity if they should come.

Of suitors, Miss Ida Saxton had many. There were among them the best in point of position and wealth the country knew. When Miss Saxton returned from her foreign tour, Major McKinley was fairly started in his legal career. His honest face and manly bearing vanquished all rivals, removed the young woman from the cashier's window, and won from honest James Saxton these words when the hand of his daughter was gained:

"You are the only man I have ever known to whom I would entrust my daughter."

THE OFT-REPEATED SALUTE.

In Columbus, Ohio, the people who happened to be about the capital grounds or on High street in the morning or afternoon, and saw Governor McKinley go back and forth between the capital and the old Neil house, noticed that he always paused on the steps of the state house before entering, turned and lifted his hat to a certain window in the hotel directly opposite. Men and women who saw this silent salute watched for it day after day, morning and evening, and never saw the governor enter the capitol without giving it. There was no occasion for inquiry or comment. Everyone in the city knew that Mrs.

McKinley was an invalid, and that the window was hers. If they glanced up at the window, they saw a beautiful face brighten with a smile as she saw the silk hat lifted at the entrance to the capitol.

This salute told the story of Governor McKinley's home-life and its romance, better than could any biographer or poet or writer of fiction. It fitted exactly into the governor's remark: "Oh, we are just old married lovers."

THE PRESIDENT'S DEVOTION TO HIS MOTHER.

The most beautiful traits in the character of President McKinley found their expression in the filial devotion that he always showed for his mother, and in the deep love and tender solicitude for his invalid wife.

During the lifetime of his mother, no twenty-four hours were allowed to pass without some communication passing between her and her son. If he were at his home in Canton, Ohio, his daily call at Mother McKinley's little cottage was as certain as the dawn of day. Sickness alone prevented it, and then some message, written or verbal, would take its place. During the entire brief term of his governorship of Ohio, he sent a letter, no matter how brief, to his mother every day. Sometimes, when under some tremendous pressure of work, the daily message would take the form of a telegram, but this resort he avoided as much as possible. At one time, during a serious disturbance in Ohio, when the troops had been called out to prevent an anticipated lynching, Governor McKinley, for a period of ten days, scarcely slept. Yet, every night, the very last thing before he allowed himself to snatch the briefest rest, he wrote a little note to his mother, knowing her great anxiety.

When, after the inauguration of her son as President, Mother McKinley returned to Canton, the daily letters were resumed. Every day there came to the Canton postoffice the little White House envelope, bearing some tender message from her "William at Washington" to his mother. "William at Washington" was always the way that she referred to her President-son.

HIS TENDER SOLICITUDE FOR HIS WIFE.

The President's tender solicitude for his wife was not less than was his beautiful devotion to his mother. The husband knew how his invalid wife suffered at times, and his watchful eye scarcely ever left her. Whenever it was at all possible for her to accompany him on some journey, he made it a personal matter that she should go. At all dinners, even the most formal state affairs, the regulation etiquette was set aside, and Mrs. McKinley always sat, not opposite to him at the other end or side of the table, as official custom demanded, but at the Presi-

dent's side, so that he might be close to her. This rule was never departed from, and the deviation from the usual custom was accepted by everybody. When Mrs. McKinley was upstairs in the White House, and not feeling very well, it was not unusual for the President to excuse himself from some conference, or to callers, and run quickly up-stairs to spend a moment with his wife. He had been known to do this as often as twelve times a day. His tender care of her when traveling won for him the deepest reverence and admiration of all who happened to be near the devoted husband and wife. When affairs of state were urgent, the President invariably shielded his wife from the unfavorable side, always presenting to her the most cheerful and brightest view of any question at issue. Again and again during the tenancy of the White House the President himself, in addition to all his other duties, directed so far as he could, the domestic machinery of the executive mansion, in order to save his wife from the worry of household cares. No two people could be closer in understanding and in more perfect sympathy than were President McKinley and his wife. In every portrait she had taken, she invariably insisted that the President should be included, or that a portrait of him should hang on the wall behind her or stand on a table at her side.

ONE DAY AT A TIME.

During the Peace Jubilee in Chicago, President McKinley was present at the great religious services in the Auditorium on Sunday afternoon for the children, and in the evening for adults, presided over by the chairman of the committee, Bishop Samuel Fallows. At the close of the afternoon exercises he accepted an invitation to address the colored people in Quinn Chapel, and invited Bishop B. W. Arnett, D. D., of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and Bishop Fallows to accompany him. As they were riding together Bishop Arnett said: "Mr. President, your duties during the Spanish-American war were so numerous and burdensome that you must have been often unable to sleep when night came."

The president turned to Bishop Fallows and said: "Bishop, do you try to get out two sermons at the same time?" The bishop responded: "No, Mr. President, one sermon is all I can manage at once." Mr. McKinley then said: "No matter how long or how short my day may be, I am through with its cares when night comes. I leave the results with divine providence and do not attempt to do tomorrow's work in the day I have ended."

DWELLING TOGETHER IN UNITY.

During the same carriage ride, Bishop Arnett said to Mr. McKinley:

"Mr. President, there are at least three bishops who are thoroughly united in love for you and in their support of your administration. One is Archbishop Ireland, another is Bishop Fallows here, and another is myself."

An acknowledging smile was on the president's face as the words of scripture occurred to him, "Behold how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

BELOVED BY HIS CABINET AND DESIROUS OF DOING WHAT IS RIGHT.

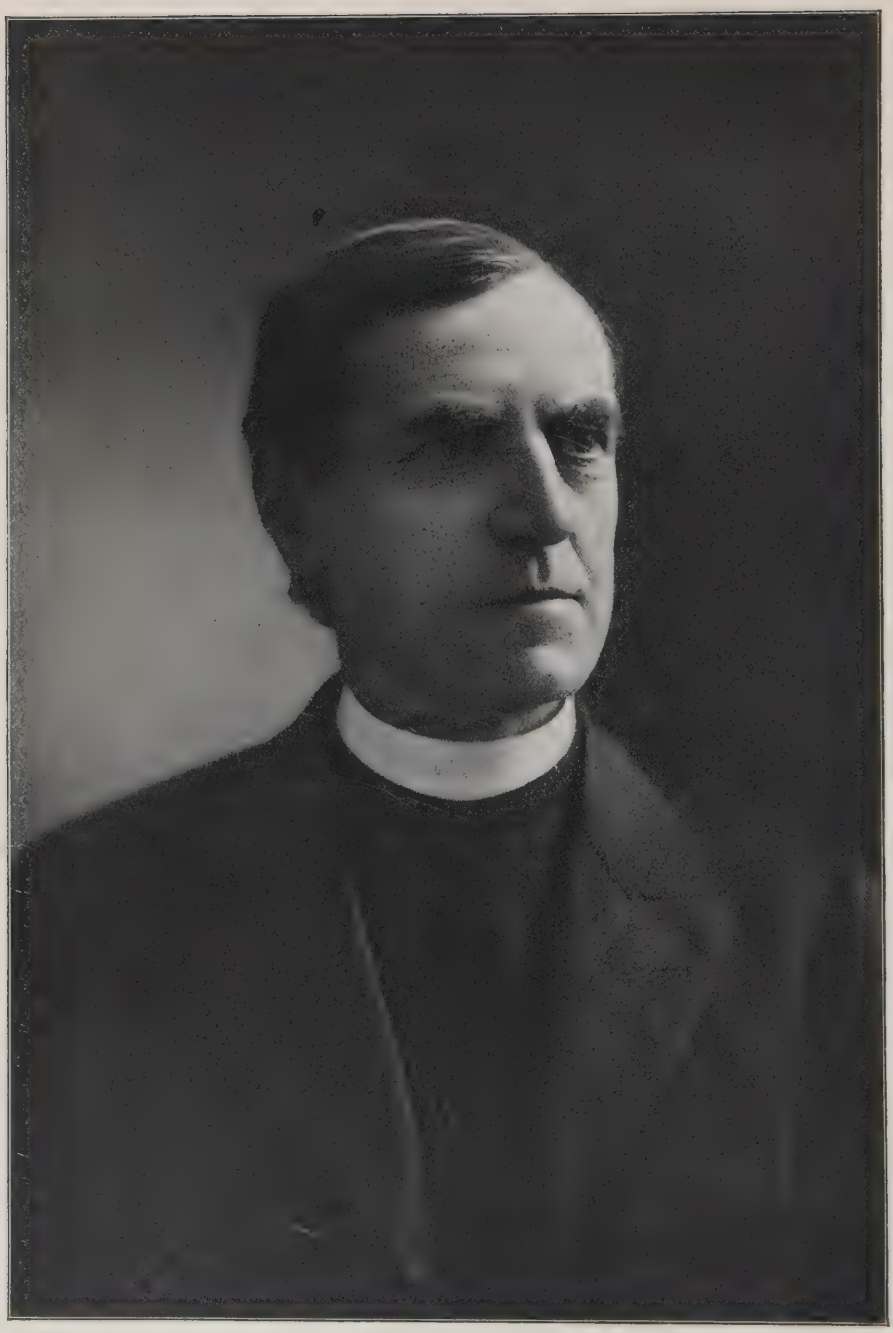
At the laying of the corner stone of the new government building in Chicago, Mr. McKinley and several members of his cabinet were present and participated in the exercises. At an informal reception given them all at the Chicago Athletic Club one of the members of the cabinet said to Bishop Fallows: "Every member of the president's official household sincerely love their chief. They love him for his sterling personal qualities and for the high sense of honor he always manifests in dealing with questions of state. No matter though the question for consideration is upon some minor subject he is accustomed to say: "Let us do the thing that is right in this matter."

FAITHFUL IN ATTENDANCE UPON CHURCH.

The Rev. Dr. Chase, pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church in Chicago, was visiting the Rev. Frank Bristol in Washington. Before the services on Sunday morning Chase said: "Do you think the president will be present today?" "Yes," replied Dr. Bristol in the energetic manner characteristic of this eminent young divine. "I always count on the president's being present, rain or shine, unless some unexpected emergency arises to prevent his coming, such as a meeting with his cabinet or attendance upon Mrs. McKinley in her illness."

TRIBUTE OF AN OLD SOLDIER.

Tributes of old soldiers and personal friends expressed not only the love of those who gave them, but they manifested the tenderness of him whose departure they mourned. While the body of the president was lying in state in Canton an aged man leaning upon two crutches, which he managed with difficulty, appeared at the door through which the people were making their exit. He asked the sentry to allow him to enter and, when the soldier refused, saying he had received orders to allow nobody through that door, the old man stood back the picture of woe. In a short time he again asked the young sentry in pleading tones to allow him entrance through the doorway, saying that in his feeble condition he was not able to stand in the line, which at that time was extending fully a mile from the entrance. "I fought in his regiment during the war," he said, "and I just want to lay this flag on his coffin and then



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keep it as a reminder of the time I saw him last." "Take it in," said the sentry, and the veteran hobbled into the hall. When he got inside he had more trouble and was compelled to explain his errand several times. Finally the line passing the coffin was stopped long enough to allow the old man to step to its side for a glance into the coffin, and to lay his tiny flag on its glass front. Then he turned back with the crowd, hugging the now sanctified flag tightly beneath his coat.

Among those in the line was an old farmer from the lower end of Stark county. He paused beside the casket and burst into tears. "His kindness and his counsel saved a boy of mine," the old man murmured, half in apology, to the guards as he tottered out of the building. Old soldiers who had served with the "major," as they called him, stumped by with limping feet on wooden legs and on crutches. Poor men and poor women whom he had helped when they needed help and without anybody being the wiser, dropped flowers on the pall. One old soldier broke through the second time for another look. "I went to the war with him," the old man said, "and I would not have come back but for him. He saw that I wasn't forgotten in the hospital."

DEVOTION TO CHILDREN.

No man was ever more devoted to children than Mr. McKinley, or had a more winning manner with them. An illustration of his kindness occurred during the president's transcontinental tour. The train stopped for a few minutes at a little town on the desert. Among those who were at the station to see the president's train go by were two little girls, one of whom had a kodak. The president stepped off the train and was about to walk along the platform when one of the girls, unabashed as older persons are in the presence of the great, asked him if she might take his picture. The president smilingly consented, and stood patiently while the child adjusted her kodak to the correct focus and took the picture. Thousands of children had been the recipients of similar acts of kindness, and these were represented in spirit by a little girl of Canton while the body was lying in state. She stopped long enough to press a kiss upon the glass over the dead face and then ran from the building with streaming eyes. One of the guards thought he saw her drop something and looked. He found a little cluster of common, late-blooming garden flowers, and to it was tied with a piece of thread a note written in a cramped, childish hand:

DEAR MR. MCKINLEY: I wish I could send you some prettier flowers, but these are all I have. I am sorry you got shot. KATIE LEE.

The guard picked up the modest little bunch of flowers and tenderly laid it across a cluster of orchids. "I thought I saw the president smile," he said to a comrade.

CLOSING INCIDENTS OF M'KINLEY'S LIFE.

When the President repeated the words, "Nearer my God to thee, nearer to thee; e'en though it be a cross that raiseth me," he said: "It has been my constant prayer, my life-long prayer."

When, in the last moments, Mrs. McKinley said to him: "I want to go with you," he replied, "We are all going, my dear."

While his hand was laid upon the shoulder of Mrs. McKinley, one of her dearest friends entered the room. With unfailing courtesy he turned its palm so that it could be grasped by this friend. It was already turning cold in death, and while no words could escape his lips, the smile of loving recognition came to his face.

He said to one of the nurses who waited upon him: "Have you been to the exposition?" She answered, "No, Mr. President." "Why, where did you come from?" he said with a playful movement of the lips. "From Baltimore," she said. "Oh, were you the nurse that attended Mrs. Gage?" he asked. "Yes," she replied. "Then I am very glad indeed to have you wait upon me." "And I am very glad indeed," she answered, "to wait upon you, Mr. President."

An intimate friend was permitted to look over the little work entitled "Daily Strength for Daily Need," out of which he daily read to Mrs. McKinley. In it she found many passages marked, but one was particularly noted:

"So near is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man
When Duty whispers low, 'I must,'
Then Youth replies 'I can.'"

In the early part of the President's struggle for life he would say to the nurses and physicians, after his wound had been attended to: "Let us have prayer." Then, kneeling, they would repeat with him the Lord's Prayer.

TRUE TO HIS COLORED FRIENDS.

When President McKinley appointed the late ex-Senator Bruce to the position of register of the treasury, considerable surprise was felt that he should select a colored man to fill so important a position. One day a friend asked him what were his reasons for appointing Bruce.

"I have two," replied the President. "The first is the man's fitness for the position. The second is that Bruce's name will appear on every bank bill that will be issued by the government while he is in office, and every colored man who gets one of the notes can read on it the name of a man of his own race, and see in it the lesson that, with economy, industry, honesty and ambition, this government will recognize him the same as it does men of a lighter color of skin."

CHAPTER XIX.

Chronological Record of the Life of President William McKinley.

1843. Jan. 29. William McKinley, son of William and Nancy (Allison) McKinley, is born at Niles, Trumbull county, O., being the seventh of a family of nine children.

1852. The McKinley family removes to Poland, Mahoning county, O., where William studies at the Union seminary until he is 17.

1859. Becomes a member of the Methodist Episcopal church in Poland.

1860. Enters the junior class in Allegheny college, Meadville, Pa., but poor health prevents the completion of the course. Subsequently teaches in a public school near Poland and later becomes a clerk in the Poland postoffice.

1861. June 11. Enlists as a private in Company E, of the Twenty-third Ohio volunteer infantry.

1862. April 15. Promoted to commissary sergeant while in the winter's camp at Fayette, W. Va.

1862. Sept. 24. Promoted to second lieutenant, in recognition of services at the battle of Antietam. Wins the highest esteem of the colonel of the regiment, Rutherford B. Hayes, and becomes a member of his staff.

1863. Feb. 7. Promoted to first lieutenant.

1864. July 25. Promoted to captain for gallantry at the battle of Kernstown, near Winchester, Va.

1864. Oct. 11. First vote for president cast, while on a march, for Abraham Lincoln.

1864. Shortly after the battle of Cedar Creek (October 19), Captain McKinley serves on the staffs of General George Crook and General Winfield S. Hancock.

1865. Assigned as acting assistant adjutant general on the staff of General Samuel S. Carroll, commanding the veteran reserve corps at Washington.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN BREVETS HIM.

1865. March 13. Commissioned by President Lincoln as major by

brevet in the volunteer United States army, "for gallant and meritorious service at the battles of Opequan, Cedar Creek and Fisher's Hill."

1865. July 26. Mustered out of the army with his regiment, having never been absent from his command on sick leave during more than four years' service.

1865. Returns to Poland and at once begins the study of law.

1866. Enters the Albany (N. Y.) law school.

1867. Admitted to the bar at Warren, O., in March. Accepting the advice of an elder sister teaching in Canton, O., he begins the practice of law in Canton and makes that place his home.

HIS FIRST OFFICE.

1869. Elected prosecuting attorney of Stark county on the republican ticket, although the county had usually been democratic.

1871. Jan. 25. Marries Miss Ida Saxton, of Canton. (Two daughters born to Mr. and Mrs. McKinley—Katie in 1871 and Ida in 1873—and both lost in early childhood).

1871. Fails of re-election as prosecuting attorney by forty-five votes, and for the next five years devotes himself successfully to the practice of law, and becomes a leading member of the bar of Stark county.

1872. Though not a candidate, very active as a campaign speaker in the Grant-Greeley presidential campaign.

1875. Especially active and conspicuous as a campaigner in the closely contested state election in which Rutherford B. Hayes is elected governor.

ELECTED TO CONGRESS.

1876. Elected member of the house of representatives by 3,300 majority, his friend Hayes being elected to the presidency.

1878. Re-elected to congress by 1,234 majority, his district in Ohio having been gerrymandered to his disadvantage by a democratic legislature.

1880. Re-elected to congress by 3,571 majority. Appointed a member of the ways and means committee, to succeed President-elect Garfield.

1882. The republicans suffer reverses throughout the country in the congressional election and McKinley is re-elected by a majority of only 8.

1884. Prominent in opposition to the proposed "Morrison tariff" in congress.

1884. As a delegate-at-large to the republican national convention in Chicago actively supports James G. Blaine for the presidential nomination.

1884. Re-elected to congress by a majority of 2,000, although his district had again been gerrymandered against him.

1886. Re-elected to congress by a majority of 2,550.

1886. Leads the minority opposition in congress against the "Mills tariff bill."

1888. Delegate-at-large to the national convention in Chicago that nominated Benjamin Harrison, and serves as chairman of the committee on resolutions. Many delegates wish McKinley to become a nominee, but he stands firm in his support of John Sherman.

1888. Elected to congress for the seventh successive time, receiving a majority of 4,100 votes.

1889. At the organization of the Fifty-first congress, is a candidate for speaker of the house, but is defeated on the third ballot in the Republican caucus by Thomas B. Reed.

1890. Upon the death of William D. Kelley in January McKinley becomes chairman of the ways and means committee and leader of his party in the house. He introduces a bill "to simplify the laws in relation to the collection of revenues," known as the "customs administration bill." He also introduces a general tariff bill. The bill becomes a law October 6.

1890. As a result of the gerrymandered congressional district and the reaction against the republican party throughout the country, caused by the protracted struggle over the tariff bill, McKinley is defeated in the election for congress by 300 votes in counties that had previously gone democratic by 3,000.

GOVERNOR OF OHIO.

1891. Nov. 3. Elected governor of Ohio by a plurality of 21,511, polling the largest vote that had ever been cast for governor in Ohio. His opponent is the democratic governor, James E. Campbell.

1892. As delegate-at-large to the national convention at Minneapolis and chairman of the convention, McKinley refuses to permit the consideration of his name and supports the renomination of President Harrison. The roll call results as follows: Harrison 535, Blaine 182, McKinley 182, Reed 4, Lincoln 1.

1892. Death of William McKinley, Sr., in November.

1893. Unanimously renominated for governor of Ohio and re-elected by a plurality of 80,995, this majority being the greatest ever recorded, with a single exception during the civil war, for any candidate in the history of the state.

1896. June 18. At the Republican national convention in St. Louis is nominated for president on the first ballot, the result of the voting

being as follows: McKinley 661½, Reed 84½, Quay 60½, Morton 58, Allison 35½, Cameron 1.

IS ELECTED PRESIDENT.

1896. Nov. 3. Receives a popular vote in the presidential election of 7,104,779, a plurality of 601,854 over his democratic opponent, William J. Bryan. In the electoral college later McKinley receives 271 votes, against 176 for Bryan.

1897. March 4. Inaugurated President of the United States for the twenty-eighth quadrennial term.

1897. March 6. Issues proclamation for an extra session of congress to assemble March 15. The president's message dwells solely upon the need of a revision of the existing tariff law.

1897. May 17. In response to an appeal from the President congress appropriates $50,000 for the relief of the destitution in Cuba.

1897. July 24. The "Dingley tariff bill" receives the president's approval.

1897. Dec. 12. Death of President McKinley's mother at Canton, O.

1898. Both branches of congress vote unanimously (the house on March 8 by a vote of 313 to 0 and the senate by a vote of 76 to 0 on the following day) to place $50,000,000 at the disposal of the president to be used at his discretion "for the national defense."

1898. March 23. The president sends to the Spanish government through Minister Woodford at Madrid, an ultimatum regarding the intolerable condition of affairs in Cuba.

1898. March 28. The report of the court of inquiry on the destruction of the Maine at Havana, on February 15, is transmitted by the president to congress.

1898. April 11. The president sends a message to congress outlining the situation, declaring that intervention is necessary and advising against the recognition of the Cuban government.

1898. April 21. The Spanish government sends Minister Woodford his passports, thus beginning the war.

1898. April 23. The president issues a call for 125,000 volunteers.

1898. April 24. Spain formally declares that war exists with the United States.

RECOMMENDS DECLARATION OF WAR.

1898. April 25. The President sends message to congress recommending the passage of a joint resolution declaring that war exists with Spain. On the same day both branches of congress passed such a resolution.

1898. May 25. The President issues a call for 75,000 additional volunteers.

1898. June 29. Yale university confers upon President McKinley the degree of LL. D.

1898. July 7. Joint resolution of congress providing for the annexation of Hawaii receives the approval of the president.

1898. Aug. 9. Spain formally accepts the president's terms of peace.

1898. Aug. 12. The peace protocol is signed. An armistice is proclaimed and the Cuban blockade raised.

1898. Oct. 17. The president receives the degree of LL. D. from the University of Chicago.

1898. Dec. 10. The treaty of peace between Spain and the United States is signed at Paris.

1900. March 14. The President signs the "gold standard act."

RENOMINATED FOR PRESIDENCY.

1900. June 21. The Republican national convention at Philadelphia unanimously renominates William McKinley for the presidency.

1900. June 21. The president's amnesty proclamation to the Filipinos is published in Manila.

1900. July 10. The United States government makes public a statement of its policy as to affairs in China.

1900. Sept. 10. Letter accepting the presidential nomination and discussing the issues of the campaign is given to the public.

1900. Nov. 6. In the presidential election William McKinley carries twenty-eight states, which have an aggregate of 292 votes in the electoral college, his democratic opponent, William J. Bryan, carrying seventeen states, having 155 electoral votes. His popular plurality is also larger than in the election of 1896.

1901. March 4. Inaugurated president. Shot by Czolsgosz September 6, at Buffalo, N. Y. Dies September 14 at Buffalo. Buried at Canton, O., September 19.

CHAPTER XX.

Masterpieces of William McKinley's Eloquence.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

"Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Michigan Republican Club.

"It gives me sincere pleasure to meet with you to-night. I have not met with the Republicans of Michigan since the great victory of 1894—the great national victory—and I bring to you my congratulations upon the proud part you bore in that great conflict resulting so triumphantly for Republican principles, and, as I believe, for the best interests of the whole country. I cannot believe that our principles are less dear to us in their triumph than they were in their temporary defeat. I cannot believe that the principles which won a most unprecedented victory from ocean to ocean require now either modification or abandonment. They are dearer and closer to the American heart than they have ever been in the past, notwithstanding the magnificent victory of 1894, and notwithstanding these great principles are cherished in the hearts of the American people, there is still a greater and more significant battle to be fought in the near future, before we can realize those principles in administration and legislation.

"While, in the situation of the country, there is no cause for congratulation, this is not the time to employ terms of distrust or aggravation. Times are bad enough, and the voice of encouragement is more appropriate than that of alarm and exaggeration. The realities are quite ugly enough, and it is the duty of each of us, by word and act, insofar as it can be done, to improve the present condition. But above all, we must not disparage our government. We must uphold it, and uphold it at all times and under all circumstances, notwithstanding that we may not be able to support the measures and policies of the present administration. Home prosperity is the only key to an easy treasury and a high credit. The Republican party never lowered the flag or the credit of the government, but has exalted both. I agree with the president, in his recent message, that a predicament confronts us. When I was here six years ago, reading

from his message, it was a condition that confronted us, and that condition was an overflowing treasury, under Republican legislation. Now I come back to you, and it is a predicament that confronts the people of the United States, because of a deficiency created by the legislation of a Democratic congress and administration.

"I am sure, however, that there is wisdom and patriotism ample enough in the country to relieve ourselves from this or any other predicament, and to place us once more at the head of the nations of the world in credit, production and prosperity. The Republican party needs but to adhere faithfully to its principles—to the principles enunciated by its great national conventions, which guided the republic for a third of a century in safety and honor, which gave the country an adequate revenue, and, while doing that, labor received comfortable wages and steady employment, which guarded every American interest at home and abroad with zealous care—principles, the application of which made us a nation of homes, of independent, prosperous freemen, where all had a fair chance and an equal opportunity in the race of life. You do not have to guess what the Republican party will do. The whole world knows its purposes. It has embodied them in law, and executed them in administration. It has bravely met every emergency, and has ever measured up to every new duty. It is dedicated to the people; it stands for the United States. It practices what it preaches, and fearlessly enforces what it teaches. Its simple code is home and country. Its central idea is the well-being of the people, and all the people. It has no arm which does not take into account the honor of the government, and the material advancement and happiness of the American people. The Republican party is neither an apology nor a reminiscence. It is proud of its past, and it sees greater usefulness in the future."—*Michigan Club, Feb. 22, 1895.*

THE M'KINLEY TARIFF OF 1890.

"I do not intend to enter upon any extended discussion of the two economic systems which divide parties in this house and the people throughout the country. For two years we have been occupied in both branches of congress and in our discussions before the people with these contending theories of taxation.

"At the first session of the Fiftieth congress the house spent several weeks in an elaborate and exhaustive discussion of these systems. The senate was for as many weeks engaged in their investigation and in debate upon them, while in the political contest of 1888 the tariff in all its phases was the absorbing question, made so by the political platforms of the respective parties, to the exclusion, practically, of

every other subject of party division. It may be said that, from the December session of 1887-1888 to March 4, 1889, no public question ever received, in congress and out, such scrutinizing investigation as that of the tariff. It has, therefore, seemed to me that any lengthy general discussion of these principles at this time, so soon after their thorough consideration and determination by the people, is neither expected, required, nor necessary.

"If any one thing was settled by the election of 1888, it was that the protective policy, as promulgated in the Republican platform and heretofore inaugurated and maintained by the Republican party, should be secured in any fiscal legislation to be had by the congress chosen in that great contest and upon that mastering issue. I have interpreted that victory to mean, and the majority in this house and in the senate to mean, that a revision of the tariff is not only demanded by the votes of the people, but that such revision should be on the line and in full recognition of the principle and purpose of protection. The people have spoken; they want their will registered and their decree embodied in public legislation. The bill which the committee on ways and means has presented is their answer and interpretation of that victory and in accordance with its spirit and letter and purpose. We have not been compelled to abolish the internal revenue system that we might preserve the protective system, which we were pledged to do in the event that the abolition of the one was essential to the preservation of the other. That was unnecessary.

"It is asserted in the views of the minority, submitted with the report accompanying this bill, that the operation of the bill will not diminish the revenues of the government; that with the increased duties we have imposed upon foreign articles which may be sent to market here we have increased taxation, and that, therefore, instead of being a diminution of the revenues of the government, there will be an increase in the sum of $50,000,000 or $60,000,000. Now, that statement is entirely misleading. It can only be accepted upon the assumption that the importation of the present year under this bill, if it becomes a law, will be equal to the importations of like articles under the existing law; and there is not a member of the committee on ways and means, there is not a member of the minority of that committee, there is not a member of the house on either side, who does not know that the very instant that you have increased the duties to a fair protective point, putting them above the highest revenue point, that very instant you diminish importations and to that extent diminish the revenue. Nobody can well dispute this proposition. Why, when the senate bill was under consideration by the committee on ways and

means, over which my friend from Texas presided in the last congress, the distinguished chairman of that committee (Mr. Mills) wrote a letter to Secretary Fairchild inquiring what would be the effect of increased duties proposed under the senate bill, and this is Mr. Fairchild's reply:

" 'Where the rates upon articles successfully produced here are materially increased, it is fair to assume that the imports of such articles would decrease and the revenue therefrom diminish.'

"He further states that where the rate upon an article is so increased as to deprive the foreign producer of the power to compete with the domestic producer, the revenue from that source will cease altogether. Secretary Fairchild only states what has been the universal experience in the United States wherever increase of duties above the revenue point has been made upon articles which we can produce in the United States. Therefore, it is safe to assume that no increase of the revenues, taking the bill, through, will arise from the articles upon which duties have been advanced. Now as to the schedules:

"The bill recommends the retention of the present rates of duty on earthen and chinaware. No other industry in the United States either deserves or requires the fostering care of government more than this one. It is a business requiring technical and artistic knowledge, and the most careful attention to the many and delicate processes through which the raw material must pass to the completed product. For many years, down to 1683, the pottery industry of the United States had very little or no success, and made but slight progress in a practical and commercial way. At the close of the low-tariff period of 1860, there was but one pottery in the United States, with two small kilns. There were no decorating kilns at the time. In 1873, encouraged by the tariff and the gold premium, which was an added protection, we had increased to twenty potteries, with sixty-eight kilns, but still no decorating kilns. The capital invested was $1,020,000, and the value of the product was $1,180,000. In 1882, there were fifty-five potteries, 244 kilns, twenty-six decorating kilns, with a capital invested of $5,076,000, and an annual product of $5,299,140. The wages paid in the potteries in 1882 were $2,387,000, and the number of employes engaged therein 7,000; the ratio of wages to sales, in 1882, was 45 per cent. In 1889, there were eighty potteries, 401 kilns, and decorating kilns had increased from twenty-six in 1822, to 188 in 1889. The capital invested in the latter year was $10,957,357, the value of the product was $10,389,910, amount paid in wages, $6,265,-224, and the number of employes engaged, 16,900. The ratio of wages to sales was 60 per cent of decorated ware and 50 per cent of white

ware. The per cent of wages to value of product, it will be observed, has advanced from 45 per cent in 1882, to 60 per cent in 1889. This increase is not due, as might be supposed, to an advance in wages, but results in a reduction in the selling price of the product and the immense increase in sales of decorated ware in which labor enters in greater proportion to materials. The total importation for 1874 and 1875 of earthenware was to the value of $4,441,216, and in 1888 and 1889 it ran up to $6,476,190. The American ware produced in 1889 was valued at $10,389,910. The difference between the wages of labor in this country and competing countries in the manufacture of earthenware is fully 100 per cent.

"The agricultural condition of the country has received the careful attention of the committee, and every remedy which was believed to be within the power of tariff legislation to give has been granted by this bill. The depression in agriculture is not confined to the United States. The reports of the agricultural department indicate that this distress is general; that Great Britain, France, and Germany are suffering in a larger degree than the farmers of the United States. Mr. Dodge, statistician of the department, says, in his report of March, 1890, that the depression in agriculture in Great Britain has probably been more severe than that of any other nation; which would indicate that it is greater even in a country whose economic system differs from ours, and that this condition is inseparable from any fiscal system, and less under the protective than the revenue tariff system.

"It has been asserted in the views of the minority that the duty put upon wheat and other agricultural products would be of no value to the agriculturists of the United States. The committee, believing differently, has advanced the duty upon these products. As we are the greatest wheat-producing country of the world, it is habitually asserted and believed by many that this product is safe from foreign competition. We do not appreciate that while the United States last year raised 490,000,000 bushels of wheat, France raised 316,000,000 bushels, Italy raised 103,000,000 bushels, Russia 189,000,000 bushels and India 243,000,000 bushels, and that the total production of Asia, including Asia Minor, Persia and Syria, amounted to over 315,000,000 bushels. Our sharpest competition comes from Russia and India, and the increased product of other nations only serves to increase the world's supply, and diminish proportionately the demand for ours; and if we will only reflect on the difference between the cost of labor in producing wheat in the United States and in competing countries, we will readily perceive how near we are to the danger line, if indeed we have not quite reached it, so far even as our own markets are concerned.

"Professor Goldwin Smith, a Canadian and political economist, speaking of the Canadian farmers and the effect of this bill upon their interests, says:

" 'They will be very much injured if the McKinley bill shall be adopted. The agricultural schedule will bear very hardly on the Canadian farmers who particularly desire to find a market in the United States for their eggs, their barley and their horses. The European market is of little value to them for their horses. If there shall be a slow market in England all the profits will be consumed on a cargo of horses and great loss will entail. I do not see how the Canadian farmers can export their produce to the United States if the McKinley bill shall become a law.'

"If that be true, Mr. Chairman, then the annual exports of about $25,000,000 in agricultural products will be supplied to the people of the United States by the American farmer rather than by the Canadian farmer; and who will say that $25,000,000 of additional demand for American agricultural products will not inure to the benefit of the American farmer; and that $25,000,000 distributed among our own farmers will not relieve some of the depression now prevailing, and give to the farmer confidence and increased ability to lift the mortgages from his lands?

"The duty recommended in the bill is not alone to correct this inequality, but to make the duty on foreign tin plate high enough to insure its manufacture in this country to the extent of our home consumption. The only reason we are not doing it now and have not been able to do it in the past is because of inadequate duties. We have demonstrated our ability to make it here as successfully as they do in Wales. We have already made it here. Two factories were engaged in producing tin plate in the years 1873, 1874, and 1875, but no sooner had they got fairly under way than the foreign manufacturer reduced his price to a point which made it impossible for our manufacturers to continue. When our people embarked in the business foreign tin plate was selling for $12 per box, and to crush them out, before they were firmly established, the price was brought down to $4.50 per box; but it did not remain there. When the fires were put out in the American mills, and its manufacture thought by the foreigners to be abandoned, the price of tin plate advanced, until in 1879 it was selling for $9 and $10 a box. Our people again tried it, and again prices were depressed, and again our people abandoned temporarily the enterprise, and, as a gentleman stated before the committee, twice they have lost their whole investment through the combination of the foreign manufacturers in striking down the prices, not

for the benefit of the consumer, but to drive our manufacturers from the business; and this would be followed by an advance within six months after our mills were shut down.

"We propose this advanced duty to protect our manufacturers and consumers against the British monopoly, in the belief that it will defend our capital and labor in the production of tin plate until they shall establish an industry which the English will recognize has come to stay, and then competition will insure regular and reasonable prices to consumers. It may add a little temporarily to the cost of tin plate to the consumer, but will eventuate in steadier and more satisfactory prices. At the present prices for foreign tin plate, the proposed duty would not add anything to the cost of the heavier grades of tin to the consumer. If the entire duty were added to the cost of the can it would not advance it more than one-third or one-half of one cent, for on a dozen fruit cans the addition would properly only be about 3 cents.

"Mr. Chairman, gentlemen on the other side take great comfort in a quotation which they make from Daniel Webster. They have thought it so valuable that they have put it in their minority report. It is from a speech made by Mr. Webster in Faneuil hall in 1820 when he condemned the protective policy. I want to put Daniel Webster in 1846 against Daniel Webster in 1820. Listen to an extract from his speech of July 25, 1846—the last tariff speech and probably the most elaborate tariff speech that he ever made in his long public career. He then said:

"'But, sir, before I proceed further, I will take notice of what appears to be some attempt, latterly, by the republication of opinions and expressions, arguments and speeches of mine, at an earlier and a later period of my life, to place me in a position of inconsistency on this subject of the protective policy of the country. Mr. President, if it be an inconsistency to hold an opinion upon a subject of public policy to-day in one state of circumstances, and to hold a different opinion upon the same subject of public policy to-morrow in a different state of circumstances, if that be an inconsistency, I admit its application to myself.'

"And then, after discussing the great benefits of the protective tariff, he added:

"'The interest of every laboring community requires diversity of occupations, pursuits, and objects of industry. The more that diversity is multiplied or extended the better. To diversify employment is to increase employment and to enhance wages. And, sir, take this great truth; place it on the title page of every book of political economy in-

tended for the use of the government; put it in every farmer's almanac; let it be the heading of the column in every mechanic's magazine; proclaim it everywhere, and make it a proverb, that where there is work for the hands of men there will be work for their teeth. Where there is employment there will be bread. It is a great blessing to the poor to have cheap food, but greater than that, prior to that, and of still higher value, is the blessing of being able to buy food by honest and respectable employment. Employment feeds, and clothes, and instructs. Employment gives health, sobriety, and morals. Constant employment and well paid labor produce in a country like ours general prosperity, contentment and cheerfulness. Thus happy have we seen the country. Thus happy may we long continue to see it.'

"In this happy condition we have seen the country under a protective policy. It is hoped we may long continue to see it, and if he had lived long enough he would have seen the best vindication of his later views. Then he continued, and I commend this especially, in all kindness and with great respect, to the gentlemen of the minority of the committee:

" 'I hope I know more of the constitution of my country than I did when I was 20 years old.

" 'I hope I have contemplated its great objects more broadly. I hope I have read with deeper interest the sentiments of the great men who framed it. I hope I have studied with more care the condition of the country when the convention assembled to form it. . . . And now, sir, allow me to say that I am quite indifferent, or rather thankful, to those conductors of the public press who think they cannot do better than now and then to spread my poor opinions before the public.'

"What is the nature of the complaint against this bill—that it shuts us out of the foreign market? No, for whatever that is worth to our citizens will be just as accessible under this bill as under the present law. We place no tax or burden or restraint upon American products going out of the country. They are as free to seek the best markets as the products of any commercial power, and as free to go out as though we had absolute free trade. Statistics show that protective tariffs have not interrupted our export trade, but that it has always steadily and largely increased under them.

"In the year 1843, being the first year after the protective tariff of 1842 went into operation, our exports exceeded our imports $40,392,229, and in the following year they exceeded our imports $3,141,226. In the two years following the excess of exports over imports was $15,475,000. The last year under that tariff the excess of exports over imports was $34,317,249. So during the five years of the tariff of 1842

the excess of exports over imports was $62,175,000. Under the low tariff of 1846, this was reversed, and, with the single exception of the year 1858, the imports exceeded the exports (covering a period of fourteen years) $465,553,625.

"We have now enjoyed twenty-nine years continuously of protective tariff laws—the longest uninterrupted period in which that policy has prevailed since the formation of the federal government—and we find ourselves at the end of that period in a condition of independence and prosperity the like of which has never been witnessed at any other period in the history of our country, and the like of which has no parallel in the recorded history of the world. In all that goes to make a nation great and strong and independent we have made extraordinary strides. In arts, in science, in literature, in manufactures, in invention, in scientific principles applied to manufacture and agriculture, in wealth and credit and national honor we are at the very front, abreast with the best, and behind none.

"In 1860, after fourteen years of a revenue tariff, just the kind of a tariff that our political adversaries are advocating to-day, the business of the country was prostrated, agriculture was deplorably depressed, manufacturing was on the decline, and the poverty of the government itself made this nation a byword in the financial centers of the world. We neither had money nor credit. Both are essential; a nation can get on if it has abundant revenues, but if it has none it must have credit. We had neither, as the legacy of the Democratic revenue tariff. We have both now. We have a surplus revenue and a spotless credit. I need not state what is so fresh in our minds, so recent in our history as to be known to every gentleman who hears me, that from the inauguration of the protective tariff laws of 1861, the old Morrill tariff—which has brought to that veteran statesman the highest honor, and will give to him his proudest monument—this condition changed. Confidence was restored, courage was inspired, the government started upon a progressive era under a system thoroughly American.

"With a great war on our hands, with an army to enlist and prepare for service, with untold millions of money to supply, the protective tariff never failed us in a single emergency, and while money was flowing into our treasury to save the government, industries were springing up all over the land—the foundation and cornerstone of our prosperity and glory. With a debt of over $2,750,000,000 when the war terminated, holding on to our protective laws, against Democratic opposition, we have reduced that debt at an average rate of more than $62,000,000 each year, $174,000 every twenty-four hours

LEAVING MILBURN RESIDENCE FOR CITY HALL, BUFFALO.

ARRIVAL OF FUNERAL TRAIN AT CANTON, O., FROM WASHINGTON.

for the last twenty-five years, and what looked to be a burden almost impossible to bear has been removed, under the Republican fiscal system, until now it is less than $1,000,000,000, and with the payment of this vast sum of money the nation has not been impoverished. The individual citizen has not been burdened or bankrupted. National and individual prosperity have gone steadily on, until our wealth is so great as to be almost incomprehensible when put into figures.

"First, then, to retain our own market, under the democratic system of raising revenue by removing all protection, would require our producers to sell at as low a price and upon as favorable terms as our foreign competitors. How could that be done? In one way only—by producing as cheaply as those who would seek our markets. What would that entail? An entire revolution in the methods and condition and conduct of business here, a leveling down through every channel, to the lowest line of our competitors; our habits of living would have to be changed, our wages cut down 50 per cent more, our comfortable homes exchanged for hovels, our independence yielded up, our citizenship demoralized. These are conditions inseparable to free trade; these would be necessary if we would command our own market among our own people; and if we would invade the world's markets, harsher conditions and greater sacrifices would be demanded of the masses. Talk about depression—we would then have it in its fulness. We would revel in unrestrained trade. Everything would, indeed, be cheap, but how costly when measured by the degradation which would ensue! When merchandise is the cheapest, men are the poorest, and the most distressing experiences in the history of our country—ay, in all human history—have been when everything was the lowest and cheapest, measured by gold, for everything was the highest and the dearest, measured by labor. We want no return of cheap times in our own country. We have no wish to adopt the conditions of other nations. Experience has demonstrated that for us and ours, and for the present and the future, the protective system meets our wants, our conditions, promotes the national design, and will work out our destiny better than any other.

"With me, this position is a deep conviction, not a theory. I believe in it and thus warmly advocate it because enveloped in it are my country's highest development and greatest prosperity; out of it come the greatest gains to the people, the greatest comforts to the masses, the widest encouragement for manly aspirations, with the largest rewards, dignifying and elevating our citizenship, upon which the safety, and purity, and permanency of our political system depend."—*House of Representatives, May 7, 1890.*

THE BLACK COLOR-BEARER.

"Our black allies must neither be deserted nor forsaken. Every right secured them by the constitution must be as surely given to them as though God had put upon their faces the color of the Anglo-Saxon race. They fought for the flag in the war, and that flag, with all it represents and stands for, must secure them every constitutional right in peace. At Baton Rouge, the first regiment of the Black brigade, before starting for Port Hudson, received at the hands of its white colonel—Colonel Stafford—its regimental colors in a speech from the colonel, which ended with this injunction:

" 'Color-bearer, guard, defend, protect, die for, but do not surrender, these colors.'

"To which the sergeant replied—and he was as black as my coat:

" 'Colonel, I'll return those flags to you in honor, or I'll report to God the reason why.'

"He fell mortally wounded, in one of the desperate charges in front of Port Hudson, with his face to the enemy, with those colors in his clenched fist pressed upon his breast. He did not return the colors, but God above him knew the reason why.

"Against those who fought on the other side in that great conflict we have no resentment; for them we have no bitterness. We would impose upon them no punishment; we would inflict upon them no indignity. They are our brothers. We would save them even from humiliation. But I will tell you what we insist upon, and we will insist upon it until it is secured—that the settlement made between Grant and Lee at Appomattox, which was afterward embodied in the constitution of the United States, shall be obeyed and respected in every part of this Union. More we have never asked, less we will not have."—*New York, "The American Volunteer Soldier," May 30, 1889.*

THE AMERICAN WORKINGMAN.

"The ideals of yesterday are the truths of to-day. What we hope for and aspire to now we will realize in the future if we are prudent and careful. If right is on our side, and we pursue resolute but orderly methods to secure our end, it is sure to come. There is no better way of securing what we want, and what we believe is best for us and those for whom we have a care, than the old way of striving earnestly and honestly for it. The labor of the country constitutes its strength and its wealth, and the better that labor is conditioned, the higher its rewards, the wider its opportunities, and the greater its comforts and refinements, the better will be our civilization, the more sacred will be

our homes, the more capable our children, and the nobler will be the destiny which awaits us. We can only walk in the path of right, resolutely insisting on the right, always being sure at the same time that we are right ourselves, and time will bring the victories. To labor is accorded its full share of the advantages of a government like ours. None more than the laborers enjoy the benefits and blessings which our free institutions make. This country differs in many and essential respects from other countries, and, as is often said, it is just this difference which makes us the best of all. It is the difference between our political equality and the caste conditions of other nations which elevates and enlightens the American laborer, and inspires within him a feeling of pride and manhood. It is the difference in recompense received by him for his labor and that received by the foreigner which enables him to acquire for himself and his a cheery home and the comforts of life. It is the difference between our educational facilities and the less liberal opportunities for learning in other lands which vouchsafes to him the priceless privilege of rearing a happy, intelligent, and God-fearing family. The great Matthew Arnold has truly said, 'America holds the future.' It is in commemoration of the achievements of labor in the past that Labor day was established. It was eminently fitting that the people should turn aside on one day of the year from their usual vocation and rejoice together over the unequaled prosperity that has been vouchsafed to them. The triumphs of American labor cannot easily be recited nor its trophies enumerated. But, great as they have been in the past, I am fully convinced that there are richer rewards in store for labor in the future."—*Cincinnati, O., Sept. 1, 1891.*

THE EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

"*Mr. Speaker:*—I am in favor of this bill. It has been said that it is a bill to limit the opportunity of the workingman to gain a livelihood. This is not true; it will have the opposite effect. So far as the government of the United States as an employer is concerned, in the limitation for a day's work provided in this bill to eight hours, instead of putting any limitation upon the opportunity of the American freeman to earn a living, it increases and enlarges his opportunity. Eight hours under the laws of the United States constitute a day's work. That law has been on our statute books for twenty-two years. In all these years it has been 'the word of promise to the ear,' but by the government of the United States it has been 'broken to the hope.' the government and its officials should be swift to execute and enforce

its own laws; failure in this particular is most reprehensible. Now, it must be remembered that when we constitute eight hours a day's work, instead of ten hours, every four days give an additional day's work to some workingman who may not have any employment at all. It is one more day's work, one more day's wages, one more opportunity for work and wages, an increased demand for labor. I am in favor of this bill as it is amended by the motion of the gentleman from Maryland. It applies now only to the labor of men's hands. It applies only to their work. It does not apply to material, it does not apply to transportation. It only applies to the actual labor, skilled or unskilled, employed on public works and in the execution of the contracts of the government. And the government of the United States ought, finally and in good faith, to set this example of eight hours as constituting a day's work required of laboring men in the service of the United States. The tendency of the times the world over is for shorter hours for labor, shorter hours in the interest of health, shorter hours in the interest of humanity, shorter hours in the interest of the home and the family; and the United States can do no better service to labor and to its own citizens than to set the example to states, to corporations and to individuals employing men by declaring that, so far as the government is concerned, eight hours shall constitute a day's work, and be all that is required of its laboring force. This bill should be passed. My colleague, Mr. Morey, has stated what we owe the family in this connection, and Cardinal Manning, in a recent article, spoke noble words on the general subject when he said:

"'But if the domestic life of the people be vital above all, if the peace, the purity of homes, the education of children, the duties of wives and mothers, the duties of husbands and of fathers be written in the natural law of mankind, and if these things are sacred, far beyond anything that can be sold in the market, then I say, if the hours of labor resulting from the unregulated sale of a man's strength and skill shall lead to the destruction of domestic life, to the neglect of children, to turning wives and mothers into living machines, and of fathers and husbands into—what shall I say, creatures of burden?—I will not say any other word—who rise up before the sun, and come back when it is set, wearied and able only to take food and lie down to rest, the domestic life of men exists no longer, and we dare not go on in this path.'

"We owe something to the care, the elevation, the dignity, and the education of labor. We owe something to the workingmen and the families of the workingmen throughout the United States, who con-

stitute the large body of our population, and this bill is a step in the right direction."—*House of Representatives, August 28, 1890.*

EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP.

"Mr. President, Members of the Faculty and Students of the Ohio State University, and Fellow Citizens:—The Prussian maxim, 'Whatever you would have appear in the life of a nation, you must put into your schools,' I would amend: 'What you would have appear in the life of a nation, you must put into your homes and schools.' The beginning of education is in the home, and the great advantage of the American system of instruction is largely due to the elevated influences of the happy and prosperous homes of our people. There is the foundation, and a most important part of education. If the home life be pure, sincere, and good, the child is usually well prepared to receive all the advantages and inspirations of more advanced education. The American home, where honesty, sobriety, and truth preside, and the simple every-day virtues are practised, is the nursery of true education. Out of such homes usually come the men and women who make our citizenship pure and elevating, and the state and nation strong and enduring.

"It is unfortunate that the great National University which Washington so strenuously advocated was not long ago established, with an endowment commensurate with the dignity and importance of our government, to which all the universities of all the states would be auxiliary institutions and tributary in the same degree that our public schools are becoming more and more training schools for the state universities. To my mind the need of such a university is as essential today for the welfare of the republic as the most enlightened and progressive nation of the world as it was in the days of our first greatest president. His great character and broad comprehension not only dominated the age in which he lived, but his advice may yet be followed to the great advantage of the youth of this and future ages.

"In the limitations of an address of this character, it is impossible to do more than allude to the great work of the states of the Union, in their independent relations, in behalf of education. It has surpassed even the high standard of the nation. Two items may be given in illustration: The total expenditures of the country in support of the common schools in 1870 were $63,300,000; in 1880, $78,100,000; and in 1890, $140,370,000, an average increase of nearly $4,000,000 per annum. The value of school property has also greatly increased. In 1870 it was $130,380,000; in 1880, $209,571,000; and in 1890, $342,-

876,000, an average increase per year of $10,000,000 for the whole period.

"In addition to this great outlay by the nation and the states, America has just reason to be proud of the private benefactions which her philanthropic citizens are constantly making to her colleges and universities. In the founding of public libraries and in aid of the higher schools from 1871 to 1891 the amount of these gifts exceeded $80,000,000, or more than $4,000,000 a year. I have been pleased to observe that this great University has not been neglected in this regard. The wise beneficence of the late Hon. Henry F. Page, of Circleville, the widow of the late Hon. Henry C. Noble, and, more recently, of the Hon. Emerson McMillin, of Columbus, are examples worthy of emulation by those who have been favored by fortune. Surely accumulated wealth can find no object so deserving and so far-reaching in its benefits.

"But what has been the result of this unparalleled expenditure and munificence? We behold, first, the most satisfactory progress in the public schools, whose enrollment has now reached 13,203,877 pupils, or twenty-three per cent of our entire population, a greater percentage than that of any other nation in the world. The people were never more willing to pour out their treasure for the support of these schools. The annual expenditure in the United States compared with other countries shows how near they are to the hearts of the people. The expenditure in Italy is $7,000,000, or twenty-five cents per capita; in Austria, $12,000,000, or thirty cents per capita; in Germany, $26,000,000, or fifty cents per capita; in France, $31,000,000, or eighty cents per capita; in Great Britain $48,000,000, or $1.30 per capita; in the United States, in 1892, $156,000,000, or $2.40 per capita. Our census returns of 1890 show that eighty-seven per cent of our total population over ten years of age can read and write. 'In the history of the human race,' says Mulhall, the English statistician, 'no nation ever before possessed 41,000,000 instructed citizens.'

"But, Mr. President, we must not forget that the whole aim and object of education is to elevate the standard of citizenship. The uplifting of our schools will undoubtedly result in a higher and better tone in business and professional life. Old methods and standards may be good, but they must advance with the new problems and needs of the age. The collegiate methods of the Eighteenth Century will not suffice for the Twentieth, any more than the packhorse could meet the demands of the great freight traffic of today. This age demands an education which, while not depreciating in any degree the inestimable advantages of high intellectual culture, shall best fit the man and woman for his or her calling, whatever it may be. In this the moral element

must not be omitted. Character—Christian character—is the foundation upon which we must build if our institutions are to endure. Our obligations for the splendid advantages we enjoy should not rest upon us too lightly. We owe to our country much. We must give in return for these matchless educational opportunities the best results in our lives. We must make our citizenship worthy the great Republic, intelligent, patriotic, and self-sacrificing, or our institutions will fail of their high purpose, and our civilization will inevitably decline. Our hope is in the public schools and in the university. Let us fervently pray that they may always be generously supported, and that those who go out from these halls will be themselves the best witnesses of their force and virtue in popular government."—*Columbus, Ohio, June 12, 1895.*

AN AUXILIARY TO RELIGION.

"*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:*—I am very glad to join with the citizens of Youngstown in celebrating the completion of this beautiful building, dedicated to the young men for physical, moral, and religious training. I congratulate the young men upon their good fortune and unite with them in gratitude to the generous, public-spirited people through whose efforts this Christian home has been established. It will stand a monument to your city and an honor to those who have shared in its erection. It will be an auxiliary to all moral and religious effort. It will be the vestibule to the Church, and the gateway to a higher and better Christian life. It will not take the place of the Church, and other agencies for good, but it will supplement and strengthen them all.

"It is a good omen for our civilization and country when these Associations can be successfully planted as a part of the system of permanent education for the improvement and elevation of the masses; it is another step upward and onward to a higher and grander Christian civilization. It is another recognition of the Master who rules over all, a worthy tribute to Him, who came on earth to save fallen man and lead him to a higher plane. It is an expression of your faith in an overruling Providence, and strengthens the faith of every believer. You have been made better by the gifts you have bestowed upon this now completed undertaking; you have the approval of not only your own consciences, but you have the gratitude of the present generation, and you will have, in all time to come, the blessings of those who are to be the future beneficiaries of this institution. Respect for true religion and righteous living is on the increase. Men no longer feel constrained to conceal their faith to avoid derision. The religious believer commands and re-

ceives the highest consideration at the hands of his neighbors and countrymen, however much they may disagree with him; and when his life is made to conform to his religious professions, his influence is almost without limitation, widespread and far-reaching.

"No man gets on so well in this world as he whose daily walk and conversation are clean and consistent, whose heart is pure and whose life is honorable. A religious spirit helps every man. It is at once a comfort and an inspiration, and makes him stronger, wiser, and better in every relation of life. There is no substitute for it. It may be assailed by its enemies, as it has been, but they offer nothing in its place. It has stood the test of centuries, and has never failed to help and bless mankind. It is stronger today than at any previous period of its history, and every event like this you celebrate increases its permanency and power. The world has use for the young man who is well grounded in principle, who has reverence for truth and religion, and courageously follows their teachings. Employment awaits his coming, and honor crowns his path. More than all this, conscious of rectitude, he meets the cares of life with courage; the duties which confront him he discharges with manly honesty. These Associations elevate and purify our citizenship, and establish more firmly the foundations of our free institutions. The men who established this government had faith in God and sublimely trusted in Him. They besought His counsel and advice in every step of their progress. And so it has been ever since; American history abounds in instances of this trait of piety, this sincere reliance on a Higher Power in all great trials in our national affairs. Our rulers may not always be observers of the outward forms of religion, but we have never had a president, from Washington to Harrison, who publicly avowed infidelity, or scoffed at the faith of the masses of our people.

"It is told of Lincoln that he once called upon General Sickles, who had just been brought from the field to Washington City, having lost a leg in one of the charges at Gettysburg. His call was one of sympathy, and, after he had inquired into every detail of that great and crucial battle, General Sickles said to him:

" 'Mr. Lincoln, what did you think of Gettysburg? Were you much concerned about it?'

"Lincoln replied, 'I thought very little about Gettysburg, and I had no concern about it.'

"The general expressed great surprise, and said that he had understood that the capital was in a great panic as to the outcome, and asked:

" 'Why were you not concerned about the battle of Gettysburg?'

" 'Well,' replied the simple-minded Lincoln, 'I will tell you, if you

will not tell anybody about it. Before the battle I went into my room at the White House, I knelt on my knees, and I prayed to God as I had never prayed to Him before, and I told Him if He would stand by us at Gettysburg I would stand by Him; and He did, and I shall. And when I arose from my knees I imagined I saw a spirit that told me I need not trouble about Gettysburg.'

"May this institution meet the fullest expectations of its founders and projectors, and prove a mighty force in the well-being of the community! Interested as I am in every department of work in our state, I can not avoid especial and peculiar interest in anything which benefits the Mahoning Valley, the place where I was born, and where I spent my younger manhood, and around which cling tender and affectionate memories that can never be effaced. I am glad to share this day with you, to participate in these exercises which open the doors of this building to the young men of this valley, consecrated to honorable uses, and for their lasting good. I wish you prosperity in your workshops, love in your homes, and bid you Godspeed in this laudable work." —*Dedication of Y. M. C. A. Building, Youngstown, O., Sept. 6, 1892.*

PROSPERITY AND POLITICS.

"It is loudly proclaimed through the democratic press that prosperity has come. I sincerely hope that it has. Whatever prosperity we have has been a long time coming, and after nearly three years of business depression, a ruinous panic and a painful and widespread suffering among the people. I pray that we may be at the dawn of better times and of enduring prosperity. I have believed it would come, in some measure, with every successive republican victory. I have urged for two years past that the election of a republican congress would strip the democratic party of power to further cripple the enterprises of the country, and would be the beginning of a return of confidence, and that general and permanent prosperity could only come when the democratic party was voted out of power in every branch of the national government, and the republican party voted in, pledged to repeal their destructive and un-American legislation, which has so seriously impaired the prosperity of the people and the revenues and credit of the government.

"It is a most significant fact, however, that the activity in business we have now is chiefly confined to those branches of industry which the democratic party was forced to leave with some protection, notably, iron and steel. There is no substantial improvement in those branches of domestic industry where the lower duties or no duties on the democratic tariff have sharpened and increased foreign competition. These indus-

tries are still lifeless, and if not lifeless, are unsatisfactory and unprofitable, both to capital and labor.

"There is a studied effort in certain quarters to show that the apparent prosperity throughout the country is the result of democratic tariff legislation. I do not think that those who assert this, honestly and sincerely believe it. It is worth remembering, and can never be forgotten, that there was no revival of business, no return of confidence or gleam of hope in business circles, until the elections of 1894, which, by unprecedented majorities, gave the popular branch of congress to the republican party, and took away from the democratic party the power to do further harm to the industries of the country and the occupations of the people. This was the aim, meaning and purpose of that vote. With the near and certain return of the republican party to full possession of power in the United States, comes naturally and logically increased faith in the country and assurance to business men that, for years to come, they will have rest and relief from democratic incompetency in the management of the industrial and financial affairs of the government. Whatever prosperity we are having (and just how much nobody seems to know), and with all hoping for the best, and hoping that it may stay and increase, and yet all breathless with suspense, is in spite of democratic legislation, and not because of it.

"The republican party never conceals its purposes. They are an open book to be read by every man. The whole world knows them; it has embodied them in law, and executed them in administration almost uninterruptedly since the 4th of March, 1861. It has bravely met every emergency in all those trying years, and has been adequate to every public obligation and public duty. It is dedicated to the people; it stands for the United States; it believes that this government should be run by ourselves and for ourselves; its simple code is home and country; its central idea is the well-being of the people and all the people; it has no aim which does not take into account the honor of the government and the material and intellectual well-being and happiness of the people. We can do no better than to stick to the old party—indeed, we can not do so well as to stick to the old party which guided the republic for a third of a century in safety and honor; which gave the country adequate revenue, and, while doing that, gave capital profitable investment and labor comfortable wages and steady employment; which guarded every American interest at home and abroad with zealous care; which never lowered the flag of our country, but whose business has ever been to exalt it, and whose principles, the application of which has made us a nation of happy homes, of independent and prosperous free-men."—*Springfield, Ohio, Sept. 10, 1895.*

GEMS OF PATRIOTIC EXPRESSION.

"Every anniversary, national or local, properly observed, is a positive good. It emphasizes the ties of home and country. It appeals to our better aspirations and incites us to higher and nobler aims."—*Youngstown, Ohio, Sept. 14, 1887.*

"The admonition of Lincoln—to 'care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan'—will never be forgotten or neglected so long as the republican party holds the reins of power. Full justice will always be done to the soldiers and sailors of the Union."—*At Orrville, Ohio, Aug. 26, 1890.*

"There is not a volunteer soldier before me, there is not a volunteer of the republic anywhere, who would exchange his honorable record in behalf of freedom and mankind, in behalf of the freest and best government on the face of the earth, for any money consideration. His patriotism is above price. It can not be bought. It is not merchandise for barter. It is not in the market. I thank God there are some things that money cannot buy, and patriotism is one of them."—*Canton, Ohio, May 30, 1901.*

CHAPTER XXI.

William McKinley's Masterpieces of Eloquence. Continued.

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS.

"This day has been given to the dead, but its lessons are intended for the living. It has been the occasion for a generous manifestation on the part of the people of their gratitude to the men who saved the country in war. But its true intent will have been lost if it has failed to inspire in all our hearts a deeper sentiment of patriotism and a stronger attachment to those great ideas for which these men gave their lives. It is an impressive fact to contemplate that today millions of our fellow citizens from every part of the country have abandoned all thoughts of business, and turned their footsteps to the places where sleep our heroic dead, that they may with loving hands and grateful hearts pay tender tribute to their virtues and their valor. This consecration day is a popular demonstration of affection for the patriotic dead and bears unmistakable evidence that patriotism in the United States has not declined or abated.

"There was nothing personally attractive about any of the features of enlistment in the War of the Rebellion. It was business of the most serious sort. Every soldier took a dreadful chance. His offering was nothing short of his own life-blood if required. These, however, seemed insignificant in that overmastering love of country, in that fervent patriotism which filled the souls of the boys, in that high and noble resolve which they all possessed, that they were to save to themselves, to their families and their fellow countrymen, the freest and purest government, and to mankind the largest liberty and the highest and best civilization in the world. With that spirit more than two million men went forth to accept any sacrifice which cruel war might exact. The extent of that sacrifice exceeded human expectation, but it was offered, freely offered, for the country. Can we ever cease to be debtors to these men? Is there anything they are not worthy to receive at our hands? Is there any emolument too great for them? Is there any benefaction too bountiful? Is there any obligation too lasting? Is there any honor too distinguished which a loving people can bestow that they ought not to receive? What the nation is or may become we owe to them. If there is one of

these fighting patriots sick at heart and discouraged, the cheerful and the strong, who are the beneficiaries of his valor, should comfort and console him. If there is one who is sick or suffering from wounds, the best skill and the most tender nursing should wait upon and attend him.

"It is interesting to note the size of our armies in the several wars in which the United States has participated. The number of Colonial troops in the Revolution was 294,791. In the War of 1812 the total number of Americans was 576,622. In the Mexican War the troops engaged for the United States numbered 112,230. The number of Union troops engaged in the Rebellion was 2,859,000, or three times the combined force of the American army in all former wars. The magnitude of the struggle is also strikingly illustrated by a comparison of casualties. The casualties in the War of 1812 were 1,877 killed in battle, 3,739 wounded. In the Mexican War, 1,049 were killed, 904 died of wounds, and 3,420 were wounded. In the War of the Rebellion, 61,362 were killed outright, 34,627 died of wounds, and 183,287 died of disease. In other words, our casualties in the Rebellion in killed and those who died of wounds and disease were only 15,000 less in number than the entire army of the United Colonies in the war with Great Britain, and two and one-half times the entire force engaged on the part of the United States in the war with Mexico. But it gives as a truer idea of the dreadful sacrifices of the country to compare our casualties with the casualties of European wars. At the battle of Waterloo there were 80,000 French, with 252 guns, and of the Allies, 72,000 troops and 186 guns. The loss of the French was 26,000, estimated, and of the Allies, 23,185. At our battle of Gettysburg, the Union force engaged was 82,000 and 300 guns. The Confederates had 70,000 troops and 250 guns. The loss was 25,203 to the Union forces, and 27,525 to the Confederate forces. Gravelotte was the bloodiest battle of the Franco-Prussian War, and the German loss was in killed, 4,449, and wounded, 15,189, out of 146,000 troops engaged. Meade's loss at Gettysburg was greater in numbers, while he had only one-half as many men engaged.

"The pension list of the government tells well the story of the suffering of our great army. On June 30, 1893, pensions were paid to 725,742 invalid soldiers, and to 185,477 widows. In the navy pensions were paid to 16,901 invalid sailors and to 6,697 widows, making a grand total of 934,817 pensioners. Our pension roll on June 30, 1893, contained nearly as many pensioners as the entire muster rolls of the United States in the War of the Revolution, in the War of 1812, and the Mexican War combined. Within 50,000 as many names are now borne on our pension rolls as were contained on the enlistment rolls of all our armies in every war from the Revolution to the Civil War.

"My comrades, this long and highly honorable list is being diminished by death, and will rapidly decrease as the years go by. The pension roll has probably now reached its maximum. Hereafter it is likely to recede. Death will stalk through this patriotic list with increased rapidity as age overtakes it, as it is hourly doing, that great army of 1861. The older veterans cannot last a great while longer. Exposure has hastened to their door the steps of the pale messenger. God grant that while they are still with us they shall enjoy, without stint or grudge, the bounteous benefactions of the country they served and the tender care and the generous respect of their neighbors and fellow citizens! 'Displaced from the pension roll' by death carries no taint or dishonor, raises no suspicion of unworthiness. If the pension roll is diminished, or displacement occurs from other causes, let it be for reasons just and honorable. Then the patriotic sentiment of the country will approve and the soldiers of the republic will be quick to applaud. Let us care for the needy survivors of that great struggle in the true spirit of him who promised that the nation would 'care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans.'

"Sumpter and Appomattox! What a flood of memories these names excite. How they come unbidden to every soldier as he contemplates the great events of the war! The one marked the beginning, the other the close of the great struggle. At one the shot was fired which threatened this Union and the downfall of liberty. The other proclaimed peace and wrote in history that the machinations which inaugurated war to establish a government with slavery as its corner-stone had failed. The one was the commencement of a struggle which drenched the nation in blood for four years; the other was its end and the beginning of a reunited country which has lasted now for twenty-nine years, and which, God grant, may last forever and forever more, blazing the pathway of freedom to the races of man everywhere, and loved by all the people of the world! The one marked the wild rush of mad passion; the other was the restoration of the cool judgment, disciplined by the terrible ordeal of four years' bloody war. Patriotism, justice and righteousness triumphed. The republic which God had ordained withstood the shock of battle, and you and your comrades were the willing instruments in the hands of that Divine power that guides nations which love and serve Him.

"Howells, thirty-two years ago, expressed the simple and sublime faith of the soldier, and the prophecy of the outcome of the war, in words which burn in my soul whenever I pass in review the events of that struggle. He said:

" 'Where are you going, soldiers,
With banner, gun, and sword?'
'We're marching south to Canaan
To battle for the Lord!'

"Yes, the Lord took care of us then. Will we heed His decrees and preserve unimpaired what He permitted us to win? Liberty, my countrymen, is responsibility; responsibility is duty; duty is God's order, and when faithfully obeyed will preserve liberty. We need have no fears of the future if we will perform every obligation of duty and citizenship. If we lose the smallest share of our freedom, we have no one to blame but ourselves. This country is ours—ours to govern, ours to guide, ours to enjoy. We are both sovereign and subject. All are now free, subject henceforth to ourselves alone. We pay no homage to an early throne; only to God we bend the knee. The soldier did his work and did it well. The present and the future are with the citizen, whose judgment in our free country is supreme."—*Music Hall, Canton, Ohio, May 30, 1894.*

THE AMERICAN VOLUNTEER SOLDIER.

"Mr. President and Comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, and my Fellow Citizens:—The Grand Army of the Republic is on duty today. But not in the service of arms. The storm and siege and bivouac and battle line have given place to the ministrations of peace and the manifestations of affectionate regard for fallen comrades, in which the great body of the people cheerfully and reverently unite. The service of the day is more to us—far more to us—than to those in whose memory it is performed. It means nothing to the dead, everything to the living. It reminds us of what our stricken comrades did and sacrificed and won. It teaches us the awful cost of liberty, and the price of national unity, and bids us guard with sacred and sleepless vigilance the great and immortal work which they wrought.

"The annual tribute which this nation brings to its heroic dead is, in part at least due to American thought and conception, creditable to the living and honorable to the dead. No nation in the world has so honored her heroic dead as ours. The soldiery of no country in the world have been crowned with such immortal meed or received at the hands of the people such substantial evidences of national regard. Other nations have decorated their great captains and have knighted their illustrious commanders. Monuments have been erected to perpetuate their names. Permanent and triumphal arches have been raised to mark their graves. Nothing has been omitted to manifest and make immortal their valorous

deeds. But to America is mankind indebted for the loving and touching tribute this day performed, which brings the offerings of affection and tokens of love to the graves of all our soldier dead. We not only honor our great captains and illustrious commanders, the men who led the vast armies to battle, but we shower equal honors in equal measure upon all, irrespective of rank in battle or condition at home. Our gratitude is of that grand patriotic character which recognizes no titles, permits no discrimination, subordinates all distinctions; and the soldier, whether of the rank and file, the line or the staff, who fought and fell for liberty and union—all who fought in the great cause and have since died, are warmly cherished in the hearts, and are sacred to the memory of the people.

"Mr. President, from the very commencement of our Civil War we recognized the elevated patriotism of the rank and file of the army and their unselfish consecration to the country, while subsequent years have only served to increase our admiration for their splendid and heroic services. They enlisted in the army with no expectation of promotion; not for the paltry pittance of pay; not for fame or popular applause, for their services, however efficient, were not to be heralded abroad. They entered the army moved by the highest and purest motives of patriotism, that no harm might befall the republic. While detracting nothing from the fame of our matchless leaders, we know that, without that great army of volunteers, the citizen soldiery, the brilliant achievements of the war would not have been possible. They, my fellow citizens, were the great power. They were the majestic and irresistible force. They stood behind the strategic commanders, whose intelligent and individual earnestness, guided by their genius, gained the imperishable victories of the war. I would not withhold the most generous eulogy from conspicuous soldiers, living or dead—from the leaders, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Meade, Hancock, McClellan, Hooker, and Logan—who flame out the very incarnation of soldiery valor and vigor before the eyes of the American people, and have an exalted rank in history, and fill a great place in the hearts of their countrymen. We need not fear, my fellow citizens, that the great captains will be forgotten.

"My fellow citizens, the rank and file of the old regular army was made of the same heroic mold as our volunteer army. It is a recorded fact in history, that when treason swept over this country in 1861—when distinguished officers, who had been educated at the public expense, who had taken the oath to support the constitution of the United States and defend this government against all its enemies, when they proved recreant to trust and duty, and enlisted under the banner of the Confederacy—the rank and file of that old army stood steadfast to Federal authority, loyal to the Federal government, and no private soldier followed his old com-

BIRTHPLACE OF McKINLEY.

THE EMERGENCY HOSPITAL, BUFFALO.

nander into the ranks of the enemy. None were false to conscience or to country. None turned their backs on the old flag.

"The most splendid exhibition of devotion to country, and to the government, and to the flag, was displayed also by our prisoners of war. We had 175,000 soldiers taken prisoners during the Civil War, and when death was stalking within the walls of their prisons, when starvation was almost overcoming their brave hearts, when mind was receding and reason was tottering, liberty was offered to those 175,000 men upon one condition—that they would swear allegiance to the Confederate government, and enlist in the cause of the Confederacy. What was the answer of our brave but starving comrades? There could be but one answer. They preferred to suffer all and to bear all rather than to prove false to the cause they had sworn to defend.

"Now, so far removed from the great war, we are prone to forget its disasters and underestimate its sacrifices. Their magnitude is best appreciated when contrasted with the losses and sacrifices of other armies in other times. There were slain in the late war nearly 6,000 commanding officers and over 90,000 enlisted men, and 207,000 died of disease and from exposure, making a grand total of 303,000 men. In the War of the Revolution between the United States and Great Britain, excluding those captured at Yorktown and Saratoga, the whole number of men killed and wounded and captured of the combined British and American forces was less than 22,000. We witnessed that loss in a single battle in a single day in the great Civil War. From 1775 to 1861, including all the foreign wars in which we were engaged, and all our domestic disturbances, covering a period of nearly twenty-four years, we lost but ten general officers, while in the four and a half years of the late war, we lost one hundred and twenty-five.

"And, my fellow citizens, we not only knew little of the scope and proportions of that great war, or the dreadful sacrifice to be incurred, but as little knew the great results which were to follow. We thought at the beginning, and we thought long after the commencement of the war, that the Union to be saved was the Union as it was. That was our understanding when we enlisted—that it was the Constitution and the Union—the Constitution as it was and the Union as it was—for which we fought, little heeding the teachings of history, that wars and revolutions cannot fix in advance the boundaries of their influence or determine the scope of their power. History enforces no sterner lesson. Our own revolution of 1776 produced results unlooked for by its foremost leaders. Separation was no part of the original purpose. Political alienation was no part of the first plan. Disunion was neither thought of nor accepted. Why, in 1775, on the 5th day of July,

in Philadelphia, when the continental congress was in session declaring its purposes toward Great Britain, what did it say? After declaring that it would raise armies, it closed that declaration with this significant language:

"'Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of some of our friends and fellow subjects in other parts of the empire, we assure them that we do not mean to dissolve the union which has so long and happily subsisted between us.'

"Our fathers said in that same declaration:

"'We have not raised armies with ambitious designs to separate from Great Britain and establish independent states.'

"Those were the views of the fathers. Those were the views entertained by the soldiers and statesmen of colonial days. Why, even the Declaration of Independence, which has sounded the voice of liberty to all mankind, was a shock to some of the colonists. The cautious and conservative, while believing in its eternal truth, doubted its wisdom and its policy. It was in advance of the thought of the great body of the people. Yet it stirred a feeling for independence, and an aspiration for self-government, which made a republic which has now lived more than a century; and only a few days ago you were permitted to celebrate the centennial inauguration in this city of its first great president. Out of all that came a republic that stands for human rights and human destiny, which to-day represents more than any other government the glorious future of the human race.

"Comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, those were brave men whose graves we decorated to-day. No less brave were those whose chambers of repose are beneath the scarlet fields in distant states. We may say of all them as was said of Knights of St. John in the Holy Wars: 'In the forefront of every battle was seen their burnished mail, and in the gloomy rear of every retreat was heard their voice of conscience and of courage.' 'It is not,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'what we say of them, but what they did, which will live.' They have written their own histories, they have builded their own monuments. No poor words of mine can enhance the glory of their deeds, or add a laurel to their fame. Liberty owes them a debt which centuries of tribute and mountains of granite adorned by the master hands of art can never repay. And so long as liberty lasts and the love of liberty has a place in the hearts of men, they will be safe against the tooth of time and the fate of oblivion.

"The nation is full of the graves of the dead. You have but a small fraction of them here in New York, although you contributed one-tenth of all the dead, one-tenth of all the dying, one-tenth of all the prisoners, one-tenth of all the sacrifices in that great conflict. You have

but a small number here; the greater number sleep in distant states, thousands and tens of thousands of them of whom there is no record. We only know that fighting for freedom and union they fell, and that the place where they fell was their sepulchre. The Omniscient One alone knows who they are and whence they came. But when their immortal names are called from their silent muster, when their names are spoken, the answer will come back, as it was the custom for many years in one of the French regiments when the name of De la Tour d'Auvergne was called, the answer came back, 'Died on the field of honor.' America has volumes of muster-rolls containing just such a record.

"Mr. President and comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, our circle is narrowing with the passing years. Every annual roll-call discloses one and another not present, but accounted for. There is a muster-roll over yonder as well as a muster-roll here. The majority of that vast army are fast joining the old commanders who have preceded them on that other shore.

" 'They are gone who seemed so great—
Gone! but nothing can bereave them
Of the force they made their own
Being here; and we believe them
Something far advanced in state,
And that they wear a truer crown
Than any wreath that man can weave them.
Speak no more of their renown,
And in the vast cathedral leave them.
God accept them; Christ receive them.' "

Metropolitan Opera House, New York, May 30, 1889.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

"*Mr. President, Citizens of Galena, Ladies and Gentlemen:*—I cannot forbear at the outset to express to you the very great honor that I feel in being permitted to share with you, at the city of Galena, in the observance of the seventy-first anniversary of the birth of that great soldier who once belonged to you, but now, as Stanton said to Lincoln, 'belongs to the ages.' No history of the war could be written without mentioning the state of Illinois and city of Galena. They contributed the two most conspicuous names in the great civil conflict, the civil and military rulers—Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant. No history of Ulysses S. Grant can be written without there coming unbidden from every lip the name Galena, and no faithful biography of the great soldier will ever omit the name of his cherished friend, General John A. Rawlins, also a

resident of your city. You have a proud history; Grant gave his sword and his services to his country at Galena, and gave the country back to the people at Appomattox. He presided over the first Union meeting ever held in Galena, and he presided over the greatest Union meeting ever held beneath the flag at Appomattox. He was little known at the first meeting; the whole world knew him at the last.

"We are not a nation of hero-worshipers. Our popular favorites are soon counted. With more than a hundred years of national life, crowded with great events and marked by mighty struggles, few of the great actors have more than survived the generation in which they lived. Nor has the nation or its people been ungenerous to its great leaders, whether as statesmen or soldiers. The republic has dealt justly, and I believe liberally, with its public men. Yet less than a score of them are remembered by the multitude, and the student of history only can call many of the most distinguished but now forgotten names. How few can recall the names of the presidents of the United States in the order of their administrations; fewer still can name the governors of Illinois, and the United States senators who have represented this state in that great legislative body.

"This distinguished citizen, whose life we commemorate, and the anniversary of whose birth we pause to celebrate to-day, was born at Point Pleasant, Clermont county, Ohio, on April 27, 1822. His early life was not eventful. It did not differ from that of most of the boys of his time, and gave no more promise than that of the multitude of youth of his age and station, either of the past or present. Of Scottish descent, he sprang from humble but industrious parents, and with faith and courage, with a will and mind for work, he confronted the problem of life.

"At the age of seventeen he was sent as a cadet to the West Point Military Academy; his predecessor having failed to pass the necessary examination, the vacancy was filled by the appointment of young Grant. At the academy he was marked as a painstaking, studious, plodding, persistent pupil, who neither graduated at the head nor the foot of his class, but stood number twenty-one in a class of thirty-nine. His rank at graduation placed him in the infantry arm of the service, and in 1843 he was commissioned a brevet second lieutenant in the Fourth United States Regulars. No qualities of an exceptional nature showed themselves up to this point in the character of the young officer.

"His first actual experience in war was in Mexico. Here he distinguished himself, and was twice mentioned in general orders for his conspicuous gallantry. He was twice brevetted by the President of the United States for heroic conduct at the battles of Monterey, Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Chapultepec, and Molino del Rey. After the war

with Mexico he was stationed with his regiment on the northern frontier, and subsequently on the Pacific coast in Oregon and California, in which latter station he saw much trying service with the Indians. On July 31, 1854, he resigned his commission in the army, after eleven years' service therein—a service creditable to him in every particular, but in no sense so marked as to distinguish him from a score of others of equal rank and opportunity.

"He was successful from the very beginning of his military command. His earliest, like his later blows, were tellingly disastrous to the enemy. First at Paducah, then defeating Polk and Pillow at Belmont; again at Fort Henry, which he captured. Then he determined to destroy Fort Donelson, and with rare coolness and deliberation he settled himself down to the task, which he successfully accomplished on February 16, 1862. After two days of severe battle, 12,000 prisoners and their belongings fell into his hands, and the victory was sweeping and complete. He was immediately commissioned major-general of volunteers, in recognition of his brilliant triumph, and at once secured the confidence of the president and trusting faith of the loyal North, while the men at the front turned their eyes hopefully to their coming commander. His famous dispatch to General Buckner, who had proposed commissioners to negotiate for capitulation—'No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted; I propose to move immediately upon your works'—electrified the country, and sent cheer to every loyal heart at home and to the brave defenders in the field. It sounded the note of confidence and victory, and gave to the Union cause and lovers of the Union new and fervent hope. It breathed conscious strength, disclosed immeasurable reserve power, and quickened the whole North to grander efforts and loftier patriotism for the preservation of the Union.

"On March 17, 1864, a little more than three years from his departure from Galena, where he was drilling your local company as a simple captain, Grant assumed the control of all the Federal forces, wherever located, and in less than fourteen months Lee's army, the pride and glory of the Confederate government, surrendered to the victorious soldier. It was not a surrender without resistance—skillful, dogged resistance. It was secured after many battles and fierce assaults, accompanied by indescribable toil and suffering, and the loss of thousands of precious lives. The battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna and Cold Harbor, and the siege of Petersburg, witnessed the hardest fighting and the severest sacrifices of the war, while the loss of brave men in the trenches was simply appalling. The historian has wearied in detailing them, and the painter's hand has palsied with reproducing the scenes of blood and carnage there enacted. General Grant not only directed the

forces in front of Richmond, but the entire line of operation of all our armies was under his skillful hand and was moved by his masterful mind. The entire field was the theater of his thought, and to his command all moved as a symmetrical whole, harmonious to one purpose, centering upon one grand design. In obedience to his orders, Sherman was marching, fighting, and winning victories with his splendid army in Georgia, extending our victorious banners farther and deeper into the heart of the Confederacy; and all the while the immortal Thomas was engaging the enemy in another part of the far-stretching field, diverting and defeating the only army which might successfully impede the triumphant march of Sherman to the sea. Sheridan, of whom General Grant said the only instruction he ever required was 'to go in,' was going into the Shenandoah Valley, that disputed field, the scene of Stonewall Jackson's fame. Here his dashing army, driving by storm and strategy the determined forces of Early, sent them whirling back, stripped of laurels previously won, without either their artillery or battle-flags. Scofield had done grand work at Franklin, and later occupied Wilmington and Goldsboro, on the distant seacoast, with a view to final connection with Sherman. These movements, and more, absorbed the mind of the great commander.

"The liberal terms given to Lee at Appomattox revealed in the breast of the hard fighter a soft and generous heart. He wanted no vengeance; he had no bitterness in his soul; he had no hates to avenge. He believed in war only as a means of peace. His large, brave, gentle nature made the surrender as easy to his illustrious foe as was possible. He said, with the broadest humanity: 'Take your horses and side-arms, all of your personal property and belongings, and go home, not to be disturbed, not to be punished for treason, not to be outcasts; but go, cultivate the fields whereon you fought and lost. Yield faithful allegiance to the old flag and the restored Union, and obey the laws of peace.' Was ever such magnanimity before shown by victor to vanquished? Here closed the great war, and with it the active military career of the great commander.

"His civil administration covered eight years—two full terms as president of the United States. This new exaltation was not of his own asking. He preferred to remain general of the army with which he had been so long associated and in which he had acquired his great fame. The country, however, was determined that the successful soldier should be its civil ruler. The loyal people felt that they owed him the highest honors which the nation could bestow, and they called him from the military to the civil head of the government. His term commenced in March, 1869, and ended in March, 1877. It constituted one of the

important periods of our national life. If the period of Washington's administration involved the formation of the Union, that of Grant's was confronted with its reconstruction, after the bitter, relentless, internal struggle to destroy it. It was a most delicate era in which to rule. It would have been difficult, embarrassing and hazardous to any man, no matter how gifted, or what his previous preparation or equipment might have been. Could any one have done better than he? We will not pause to discuss. Different opinions prevail, and on this occasion we do not enter the field of controversy; but, speaking for myself, I believe he was exactly the man for the place, and that he filled to its full measure the trust to which his fellow citizens called him. He committed errors. Who could have escaped them, at such a time and in such a place? He stood in his civil station battling for the legitimate fruits of the war, that they might be firmly secured to the living and to their posterity forever. His arm was never lifted against the right; his soul abhorred the wrong. His veto of the inflation bill, his organization of the Geneva Arbitration Commission to settle the claims of the United States against England, his strong but conciliatory foreign policy, his constant care to have no policy against the will of the people, his enforcement of the constitution and its amendments in every part of the Republic, his maintenance of the credit of the government and its good faith at home and abroad, marked his administration as strong, wise, and patriotic. Great and wise as his civil administration was, however, the achievements which made him 'one of the immortal few whose names will never die' are found in his military career. Carping critics have sought to mar it, strategists have found flaws in it, but in the presence of his successive, uninterrupted, and unrivaled victories, it is the idlest chatter which none should heed. He was always ready to fight. If beaten to-day, he resumed battle on the morrow, and his pathway was all along crowned with victories and surrenders, which silence criticism, and place him side by side with the mighty soldiers of the world.

"With no disparagement to others, two names rise above all the rest in American history since George Washington—transcendently above them. They are Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant. Each will be remembered for what he did and accomplished for his race and for mankind. Lincoln proclaimed liberty to four million slaves, and upon his act invited 'the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.' He has received the warm approval of the one, and I am sure he is enjoying the generous benediction of the other. His was the greatest, mightiest stroke of the war. Grand on its humanity side, masterly in its military aspect, it has given to his name an imperishable place among men. Grant gave irresistible power and efficacy to the Proclama-

tion of Liberty. The iron shackles which Lincoln declared should be loosed from the limbs and souls of the black slaves, Grant with his matchless army melted and destroyed in the burning glories of the war; and the rebels read the inspired decree in the flashing guns of his artillery, and they knew what Lincoln had decreed Grant would execute.

"He had now filled the full measure of human ambition, and drunk from every fountain of earthly glory. He had commanded mighty legions on a hundred victorious fields. He had borne great responsibilities and exercised almost limitless power. He had executed every trust with fidelity, and, in the main, with consummate skill. He had controlled the movement of a larger army than had been commanded by any other soldier, the world over, since the invention of firearms. He was made general of the United States army by congress on July 25, 1866—a rank and title never given to an American soldier before. He had won the lasting gratitude of his fellow countrymen, and whenever or wherever he went among them they crowned him with fresh manifestations of their love and veneration—and no reverses of fortune, no errors of judgment, no vexatious and unfortunate business complications ever shook their trustful confidence. When he sought rest in other lands, crowned heads stood uncovered in his presence and laid their trophies at his feet, while the struggling toiler, striving for a larger liberty, offered his earnest tribute to the great warrior who had made liberty universal in the Republic. Everywhere he went grateful honors greeted him, and he was welcomed as no American had been before. He girded the globe with his renown as he journeyed in the pathway of the sun. Nothing of human longing or aspiration remained unsatiated. He had enjoyed all the honors which his lavish countrymen could bestow, and had received the respectful homage of foreign nations.

"His private life was beautiful in its purity and simplicity. No irreverent oath passed his lips, and his conversation was as chaste and unaffected as that of simple childhood. His relations with his family were tender and affectionate.

"Only a few years ago, in one of his journeys through the South, when he was receiving a great ovation, some colored men crowded his hotel to look into the face and to grasp the hand of their great deliverer. To this intrusion objection was made, and the colored men were about to be ejected, when the general appeared, and in his quiet way, full of earnest feeling, said: 'Where I am they shall come also.' He believed in the brotherhood of man—in the political equality of all men—he had secured that with his sword, and was prompt to recognize it in all places and everywhere.

"But, my friends, Death had marked him for a victim. He fought

Death with his iron will and his old-time courage, but at last yielded, the first and only time the great soldier was ever vanquished. He had routed every other foe, he had triumphed over every other enemy, but this last one conquered him, as in the end he conquers all. He, however, stayed his fatal hand long enough to permit Grant to finish the last great work of his life—to write the history he had made. True, that history had been already written—written in blood, in the agony of the dying and in the tears of the suffering nation; written in the hearts of her patriotic people. The ready pens of others had told more than a thousand times the matchless story; the artist had, a hundred times, placed upon canvas the soul-stirring scenes in which Grant was the central figure; the sculptor had cut its every phase in enduring marble, yet a kind Providence mercifully spared him a few months longer, that he who had seen it and directed it should sum up the great work wrought by the grand army of the Republic under his magic guidance. He was not an old man when he died; but, after all, what a complete life was his!

"Mighty events and mightier achievements were never crowded into a single life before, and he lived to place them in enduring form, to be read by the millions living and the millions yet unborn. Then laying down his pen, he bowed resignedly before the Angel of Death, saying: 'If it is God's providence that I shall go now, I am ready to obey His will without a murmur.' Great in life, majestic in death! He needs no monument to perpetuate his fame; it will live and glow with increased luster so long as liberty lasts and the love of liberty has a place in the hearts of men. Every soldier's monument throughout the North, now standing or hereafter to be erected, will record his worth and work, as well as those of the brave men who fought by his side. His most lasting memorial will be the work he did, his most enduring monument the Union which he and his heroic associates saved, and the priceless liberty they secured.

"Surrounded by a devoted family, with a mind serene and a heart resigned, he passed over to join his fallen comrades beyond the river, on another field of glory. Above him in his chamber of sickness and death hung the portraits of Washington and Lincoln, whose disembodied spirits in the Eternal City were watching and waiting for him who was to complete the immortal trio of America's first and best beloved; and as the earthly scenes receded from his view, and the celestial appeared, I can imagine those were the first to greet his sight and bid him welcome.

"We are not a nation of hero-worshipers. We are a nation of generous freemen. We bow in affectionate reverence and with most grateful hearts to these immortal names, Washington, Lincoln, and Grant, and will guard with sleepless vigilance their mighty work and cherish their memories evermore.

"'They were the luster lights of their day,
The . . . giants
Who clave the darkness asunder
And beaconed us where we are.'"

Galena, Ill., April 27, 1893, Grant's Birthday.

ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE GRANT MONUMENT.

"A GREAT LIFE, DEDICATED TO THE WELFARE OF THE NATION, HERE FINDS ITS EARTHLY CORONATION."

"A great life, dedicated to the welfare of the nation, here finds its early coronation. Even if this day lacked the impressiveness of ceremony, and was devoid of pageantry, it would still be memorable, because it is the anniversary of the birth of one of the most famous and best beloved of American soldiers.

"Architecture has paid high tribute to the leaders of mankind, but never was a memorial more worthily bestowed or more gratefully accepted by a free people than the beautiful structure before which we are gathered.

"In marking the successful completion of this work we have as witnesses and participants representatives of all branches of our government, the resident officials of foreign nations, the governors of states, and the sovereign people from every section of our common country, who join in this august tribute to the soldier, patriot and citizen.

FIRST TO BE CALLED.

"Almost twelve years have passed since the heroic vigil ended and the brave spirit of Ulysses S. Grant fearlessly took its flight. Lincoln and Stanton had preceded him, but of the mighty captains of the war Grant was the first to be called. Sherman and Sheridan survived him, but have since joined him on the other shore.

"The great heroes of the civil strife on land and sea are for the most part now no more. Thomas and Hancock, Logan and McPherson, Farragut, Dupont and Porter, and a host of others, have passed forever from human sight. Those remaining grow dearer to us, and from them and the memory of those who have departed generations yet unborn will draw their inspiration and gather strength for patriotic purpose.

"A great life never dies. Great deeds are imperishable; great names immortal. Gen. Grant's services and character will continue undiminished in influence and advance in the estimation of mankind so long as liberty remains the corner-stone of free government and integrity of life the guaranty of good citizenship.

FEARLESS AS A SOLDIER.

"Faithful and fearless as a volunteer soldier, intrepid and invincible as commander in chief of the armies of the Union, calm and confident as president of a reunited and strengthened nation which his genius had been instrumental in achieving, he has our homage and that of the world; but, brilliant as was his public character, we love him all the more for his home life and homely virtues. His individuality, his bearing and speech, his simple ways, had a flavor of rare and unique distinction, and his Americanism was so true and uncompromising that his name will stand for all time as the embodiment of liberty, loyalty and national unity.

Victorious in the work which under Divine Providence he was called upon to do, clothed with almost limitless power, he was yet one of the people—patient, patriotic and just. Success did not disturb the even balance of his mind, while fame was powerless to swerve him from the path of duty. Great as he was in war, he loved peace and told the world that honorable arbitration of differences was the best hope of civilization.

"With Washington and Lincoln, Grant has an exalted place in history and the affections of the people. Today his memory is held in equal esteem by those whom he led to victory and by those who accepted his generous terms of peace. The veteran leaders of the blue and the gray here meet not only to honor the name of the departed Grant, but to testify to the living reality of a fraternal national spirit which has triumphed over the differences of the past and transcended the limitations of sectional lines. Its completion, which we pray God to speed, will be the nation's greatest glory.

FITTING RESTING PLACE.

"It is right, then, that Gen. Grant should have a memorial commensurate with his greatness, and that his last resting place should be the city of his choice, to which he was so attached in life and of whose ties he was not forgetful even in death. Fitting, too, is it that the great soldier should sleep beside the native river on whose banks he first learned the art of war and of which he became master and leader without a rival.

"But let us not forget the glorious distinction with which the metropolis among the fair sisterhood of American cities has honored his life and memory. With all that riches and sculpture can do to render the edifice worthy of the man, upon a site unsurpassed for magnificence, has this monument been reared by New York as a perpetual record of his illustrious deeds in the certainty that as time passes around it will assemble with gratitude and reverence and veneration men of all climes, races and nationalities.

"New York holds in its keeping the precious dust of the silent soldier; but his achievements—which he and his brave comrades wrought for mankind—are in the keeping of seventy millions of American citizens who will guard the sacred heritage forever and forevermore."

JOHN A. LOGAN.

"*Mr. Speaker*:—A great citizen who filled high public stations for more than a quarter of a century has passed away, and the House of Representatives turns aside from its usual public duties that it may place in its permanent and official record a tribute to his memory, and manifest in some degree its appreciation of his lofty character and illustrious services. General Logan was a conspicuous figure in war, and scarcely less conspicuous in peace. Whether on the field of arms or in the forum where ideas clash, General Logan was ever at the front.

"Mr. Speaker, he was a leader of men, having convictions, with the courage to utter and enforce them in any place and to defend them against any adversary. He was never long in the rear among the followers. Starting there, his resolute and resistless spirit soon impressed itself upon his fellows, and he was quickly advanced to his true and rightful rank of leadership. Without the aid of fortune, without the aid of influential friends, he won his successive stations of honor by the force of his own integrity and industry, his own high character and indomitable will. And it may be said of him that he justly represents one of the best types of American manhood, and illustrates in his life the outcome and the possibilities of the American youth under the generous influences of our free institutions.

"Participating in two wars, the records of both attest his courage and devotion, his valor, and his sacrifices for the country which he loved so well, and to which he more than once dedicated everything he possessed, even life itself. Reared a democrat, he turned away from many of the old party leaders when the trying crisis came which was to determine whether the Union was to be saved or to be severed. He joined his old friend and party leader, Stephen A. Douglas, with all the ardor of his strong nature, and the safety and preservation of the Union became the overshadowing and absorbing purpose of his life. His creed was his country. Patriotism was the sole plank in his platform. Everything must yield to this sentiment; every other consideration was subordinate to it; and so he threw the whole force of his great character at the very outset into the struggle for national life. He resigned his seat in congress to raise a regiment, and it is a noteworthy fact that in the congressional district which he represented more soldiers were sent to the front according to its population than in any other congressional

district in the United States. It is a further significant fact, that, in 1860, when he ran for congress as a democratic candidate, in what was known as the old Ninth Congressional District, he received a majority of over 13,000; and six years afterward, when at the conclusion of the war he ran as a candidate of the republican party in the state of Illinois as representative to congress at large, the same old Ninth District, that had given him a democratic majority of 13,000 in 1860, gave him a republican majority of over 3,000 in 1866. Whatever else these facts may teach, Mr. Speaker, they clearly show one thing—that John A. Logan's old constituency approved of his course, was proud of his illustrious services, and followed the flag which he bore, which was the Flag of the Stars.

"His service in this house and in the senate, almost uninterruptedly, since 1867, was marked by great industry, by rugged honesty, by devotion to the interests of the country, and to the whole country, to the rights of the citizen, and especially by a devotion to the interests of his late comrades-in-arms. He was a strong and forcible debater. He was a most thorough master of the subjects he discussed, and an intense believer in the policy and principles he advocated. In popular discussion upon the hustings he had no superiors, and but few equals. He seized the hearts and the consciences of men, and moved great multitudes with that fury of enthusiasm with which he moved his soldiers in the field.

"Mr. Speaker, it is high tribute to any man, it is high tribute to John A. Logan, to say that, in the House of Representatives, where sat Thaddeus Stevens and Robert C. Schenck, James G. Blaine and James A. Garfield, Henry Winter Davis and William D. Kelley, he stood equal in favor and in power in party control. And it is equally high tribute to him to say that in the senate of the United States, where sat Charles Sumner and Oliver P. Morton, Hanibal Hamlin and Zachariah Chandler, John Sherman and George F. Edmunds, Roscoe Conkling and Justin S. Morrill, he fairly divided with them the power and responsibility of republican leadership. No higher eulogy can be given to any man, no more honorable distinction could be coveted. He lived during a period of very great activities and forces, and he impressed himself upon his age and time. To me the dominant and controlling force in his life was his intense patriotism.

"It stamped all his acts and utterances, and was the chief inspiration of the great work he wrought. His book, recently published, is a masterly appeal to the patriotism of the people. His death, so sudden and unlooked for, was a shock to his countrymen, and caused universal sorrow among all classes in every part of the Union. No class so deeply mourned his taking away as the great volunteer army and their surviving

families and friends. They were closely related to him. They regarded him as their never-failing friend. He had been first commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, and to him this mighty soldier organization, numbering more than four hundred thousand, was indebted for much of its efficiency in the field of charity. He was the idol of the army in which he served—the ideal citizen volunteer of the Republic, the pride of all the armies, and affectionately beloved by all who loved the Union.

"Honored and respected by his commanders, held in affectionate regard by the rank and file, who found in him a heroic leader and devoted friend, he advocated the most generous bounties and pensions, and much of this character of legislation was constructed by his hand. So in sympathy was he with the brave men who risked all for country, that he demanded for them the most generous treatment. I heard him declare last summer, to an audience of ten thousand people, gathered from all sections of the country, at the annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic at San Francisco, that he believed that the government should grant from its overflowing treasury and boundless resources a pension to every Union soldier who was incapable of taking care of himself, asserting with all the fervor of his patriotic soul that the government was unworthy of itself and of the blood and treasure it cost if it would suffer any of its defenders to become inmates of the poor-houses of the land, or be the objects of private charity.

"Mr. Speaker, the old soldiers will miss him. The old oak around which their hearts were entwined, to which their hopes clung, has fallen. The old veterans have lost their steady friend. The congress of the United States has lost one of its ablest counselors, the republican party one of its confessed leaders, the country one of its noble defenders."—*House of Representatives, February 10, 1887.*

CHAPTER XXII.

William McKinley's Masterpieces of Eloquence. Continued.

JULY FOURTH AT WOODSTOCK.

"*Mr. President and my Fellow Citizens:*—Since 1870 this spot has witnessed the celebration of the anniversary of our national independence. They have been memorable occasions. It gives me peculiar pleasure to meet the people of New England upon this day, and upon this ground, and especially is it pleasing to me to respond for the first time that I have been able to do so to the many generous invitations that I have received from Mr. Bowen, to whom you and all of us are indebted for this patriotic assemblage. I have liked Henry C. Bowen for a good many things. I have admired him since more than forty years ago, when, in the midst of great political agitation as a merchant of the city of New York, he said: 'Our goods are for sale, but not our principles.' It was this spirit that guided the revolutionary fathers, and that has won for freedom every single victory since.

"Now, what is the meaning of this day and celebration? Simply that what we have achieved must be perpetrated in its strength and purity, not giving up one jot or tittle of the victories won. More we do not ask, less we will not have. There never was a wrong for which there was not a remedy. There never was a crime against the constitution that there was not a way somewhere and somehow found to prevent or punish; there never was such an abuse that did not suggest a reform that pointed to justice and righteousness. I am not so much troubled how the thing is to be done as I am troubled that the living shall do what is right, as the living see the right. The future will take care of itself if we will do right. As Gladstone said in his peroration presenting the remedial legislation of Ireland:

" 'Walking in the path of justice we can not err; guided by that light we are safe. Every step we take upon our road brings us nearer to the goal, and every obstacle, though it seem for the moment insurmountable, can only for a little while retard, never defeat, the fatal triumph.'

"The Fourth of July is memorable among other things because

George Washington signed the first great industrial measure on that day. The very first industrial financial measure that was ever passed in the United States was signed by him on the 4th day of July, 1789, and therefore I did not think there was any impropriety in Senator Aldrich talking about the tariff on this day and occasion. It would not be proper for me to make a tariff speech here, although it has been suggested, but I may say with propriety, I am always for the United States. I believe in the American idea of liberty, so eloquently described by Chauncey Depew this morning. I believe in American independence, —not only political independence, but industrial independence as well; and if I were asked to tell in a single sentence what constitutes the strength of the American Republic, I would say it was the American home, and whatever makes the American home the best, the purest, and the most exalted in the world. It is our homes which exalt the country and its citizenship above those of any other land. I have no objection to foreign products, but I do like home products better. I am not against the foreign product, I am in favor of it—for taxation; but I am for the domestic production for consumption.

"In no country is there so much devolving upon the people relating to government as in ours. Unlike any other nation, here the people rule, and their will is supreme law. It is sometimes sneeringly said by those who do not like free government, that here we count heads. True, heads are counted, but brains also. And the general sense of sixty-three millions of free people is better and safer than the sense of any favored few, born to nobility and ruling by inheritance. This nation, if it would continue to lead in the race of progress and liberty, must do it through the intelligence and conscience of its people. Every honest and God-fearing man is a mighty factor in the future of the Republic. Educated men, business men, professional men, should be the last to shirk the responsibilities attaching to citizenship in a free government. They should be practical and helpful—mingling with the people—not selfish and exclusive. It is not necessary that every man should enter into politics, or adopt it as a profession, or seek political preferment, but it is the duty of every man to give personal attention to his political duties. They are as sacred and binding as any we have to perform.

"We reach the wider field of politics and shape the national policy through the town meeting and the party caucus. They should neither be despised nor avoided, but made potent in securing the best agents for executing the popular will. The influence which goes forth from the township or precinct meeting is felt in state and national legislation, and is at last embodied in the permanent forms of law and written constitutions. I can not too earnestly invite you to the closest personal

ASSASSINATION SCENE

attention to party and political caucuses and the primary meetings of your respective parties. They constitute that which goes to make up, at last, the popular will. They lie at the basis of all true reform. It will not do to hold yourself aloof from politics and parties. If the party is wrong, make it better; that's the business of the true partisan and good citizen, for whatever reforms any of us may hope to accomplish must come through united party and political action."—*Woodstock, Conn., July 4, 1891.*

BUSINESS MAN IN POLITICS.

"Interest in public affairs, national, state and city, should be ever present and active, and not abated from one year's end to the other. No American citizen is too great and none too humble to be exempt from any civic duty however subordinate. Every public duty is honorable.

"This menace often comes from the busy man or man of business and sometimes from those possessing the most leisure or learning. I have known men engaged in great commercial enterprises to leave home on the eve of an election, and then complain of the result, when their presence and the good influence they might properly have exerted would have secured a different and better result. They run away from one of the most sacred obligations in a government like ours, and confide to those with less interest involved and less responsibility to the community, the duty which should be shared by them. What we need is a revival of the true spirit of popular government, the true American spirit where all—not the few—participate actively in government. We need a new baptism of patriotism, and, suppressing for the time our several religious views upon the subject, I think we will all agree that the baptism should be by immersion. There can not be too much patriotism. It banishes distrust and treason, and anarchy flees before it. It is a sentiment which enriches our individual and national life. It is the firmament of our power, the security of the Republic, the bulwark of our liberties. It makes better citizens, better cities, a better country, and a better civilization.

"The business life of the country is so closely connected with its political life that the one is much influenced by the other. Good politics is good business. Mere partisanship no longer controls the citizen and country. Men who think alike, although heretofore acting jealously apart, are now acting together, and no longer permit former party associations to keep them from co-operating for the public good. They are more and more growing into the habit of doing in politics what they do in business.

"The general situation of the country demands of the business men, as well as the masses of the people, the most serious consideration. We must have less partisanship of a certain kind, more business, and a better national spirit. We need an aggressive partisanship for country. There are some things upon which we are all agreed. We must have enough money to run the government. We must not have our credit tarnished and our reserve depleted because of pride of opinion, or to carry out some economic theory unsuited to our conditions, citizenship, and civilization. The outflow of gold will not disturb us if the inflow of gold is large enough. The outgo is not serious if the income exceeds it. False theories should not be permitted to stand in the way of cold facts. The resources which have been developed and the wealth which has been accumulated, in the last third of a century in the United States, must not be impaired or diminished or wasted by the application of theories of the dreamer or doctrinaire. Business experience is the best lamp to guide us in the pathway of progress and prosperity."—*Chamber of Commerce, Rochester, N. Y., Feb. 13, 1895.*

ADDRESS AT THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI EXPOSITION AT OMAHA, NEBRASKA, OCTOBER 12, 1898.

"*Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Trans-Mississippi Exposition, and Fellow Citizens:*—It is with genuine pleasure that I meet once more the people of Omaha, whose wealth of welcome is not altogether unfamiliar to me, and whose warm hearts have before touched and moved me. For this renewed manifestation of your regard, and for the cordial reception of to-day, my heart responds with profound gratitude and a deep appreciation which I cannot conceal, and which the language of compliment is inadequate to convey. My greeting is not alone to your city and state of Nebraska, but to the people of all the states of the Trans-Mississippi group participating here, and I cannot withhold congratulations on the evidences of their prosperity furnished by this great exposition. If testimony were needed to establish the fact that their pluck has not deserted them, and that prosperity is again with them, it is found here. This picture dispels all doubt. [Applause.]

"In an age of expositions they have added yet another magnificent example. [Applause.] The historical celebrations at Philadelphia and Chicago, and the splendid exhibits at New Orleans, Atlanta and Nashville, are now part of the past, and yet in influence they still live, and their beneficent results are closely interwoven with our national development. Similar rewards will honor the authors and patrons of the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition. Their contribution will mark another epoch in the nation's material advancement.

"One of the great laws of life is progress, and nowhere have the principles of this law been so strikingly illustrated as in the United States. A century and a decade of our national life have turned doubt into conviction, changed experiment into demonstration, revolutionized old methods, and won new triumphs which have challenged the attention of the world. This is true not only of the accumulation of material wealth, and advance in education, science, invention and manufactures, but, above all, in the opportunities to the people for their own elevation, which have been secured by wise free government.

"Hitherto, in peace and in war, with additions to our territory and slight changes in our laws, we have steadily enforced the spirit of the constitution secured to us by the noble self-sacrifice and far-seeing sagacity of our ancestors. We have avoided the temptations of conquest in the spirit of gain. With an increasing love for our institutions and an abiding faith in their stability, we have made the triumphs of our system of government in the progress and the prosperity of our people an inspiration to the whole human race. [Applause.] Confronted at this moment by new and grave problems, we must recognize that their solution will affect not ourselves alone, but others of the family of nations.

"In this age of frequent interchange and mutual dependence, we cannot shirk our international responsibilities if we would; they must be met with courage and wisdom, and we must follow duty even if desire opposes. [Applause.] No deliberation can be too mature, or self-control too constant, in this solemn hour of our history. We must avoid the temptation of aggression, and aim to secure only such results as will promote our own and the general good.

"It has been said by some one that the normal condition of nations is war. That is not true of the United States. We never enter upon a war until every effort for peace without it has been exhausted. Ours has never been a military government. Peace, with whose blessings we have been so singularly favored, is the national desire and the goal of every American aspiration. [Applause.]

"On the 25th of April, for the first time for more than a generation, the United States sounded the call to arms. The banners of war were unfurled; the best and bravest from every section responded; a mighty army was enrolled; the North and the South vied with each other in patriotic devotion [great applause]; science was invoked to furnish its most effective weapons; factories were rushed to supply equipment; the youth and the veteran joined in freely offering their services to their country; volunteers and regulars and all the people rallied to the support of the republic. There was no break in the line, no halt in

the march, no fear in the heart [great applause]; no resistance to the patriotic impulse at home; no successful resistance to the patriotic spirit of the troops fighting in distant water or on a foreign shore. [Continued applause.]

"What a wonderful experience it has been from the standpoint of patriotism and achievement! The storm broke so suddenly that it was here almost before we realized it. Our navy was too small, though forceful with its modern equipment, and most fortunate in its trained officers and sailors.

Our army had years ago been reduced to a peace footing. We had only 28,000 available troops when the war was declared, but the account which officers and men gave of themselves on the battlefield has never been surpassed. The manhood was there and everywhere. American patriotism was there, and its resources were limitless. The courageous and invincible spirit of the people proved glorious, and those who a little more than a third of a century ago were divided and at war with each other were again united under the holy standard of liberty. [Great applause.] Patriotism banished party feeling; $50,000,000 for the national defense were appropriated without debate or division, as a matter of course and as only a mere indication of our mighty reserve power. [Great applause.]

"But if this is true of the beginning of the war, what shall we say of it now, with hostilities suspended, and peace near at hand, as we fervently hope? Matchless in its results! [Great applause] Unequaled in its completeness and the quick succession with which victory followed victory! Attained earlier than it was believed to be possible; so comprehensive in its sweep that every thoughtful man feels the weight of responsibility which has been so suddenly thrust upon us. And above all and beyond all, the valor of the American army and the bravery of the American navy and the majesty of the American name stand forth in unsullied glory, while the humanity of our purposes and the magnanimity of our conduct have given to war, always horrible, touches of noble generosity, Christian sympathy and charity, and examples of human grandeur which can never be lost to mankind. [Prolonged applause.] Passion and bitterness formed no part of our impelling motive, and it is gratifying to feel that humanity triumphed at every step of the war's progress. [Applause.]

"The heroes of Manila and Santiago and Porto Rico have made immortal history. They are worthy successors and descendants of Washington and Greene; of Paul Jones, Decatur and Hull, and of Grant, Sheridan, Sherman and Logan; of Farragut, Porter and Cushing, of Lee, Jackson and Longstreet. [Tremendous applause.]

"New names stand out on the honor roll of the nation's great men [applause], and with them, unnamed, stand the heroes of the trenches and the forecastle, invincible in battle and uncomplaining in death. [Great applause.] The intelligent, loyal, indomitable soldier and sailor and marine, regular and volunteer, are entitled to equal praise as having done their whole duty, whether at home or under the baptism of foreign fire. [Applause.]

"Who will dim the splendor of their achievements? Who will withhold from them their well-earned distinction? Who will intrude detraction at this time to belittle the manly spirit of the American youth and impair the usefulness of the American army? Who will embarrass the government by sowing seeds of dissatisfaction among the brave men who stand ready to serve and die, if need be, for their country? Who will darken the counsels of the republic in this hour, requiring the united wisdom of all? [Cheers and prolonged applause.]

"Shall we deny to ourselves what the rest of the world so freely and so justly accords to us? [General cry of 'No!'] The men who endured in the short but decisive struggle its hardships, its privations, whether in field or camp, on ship or in the siege, and planned and achieved its victories, will never tolerate impeachment, either direct or indirect, of those who won a peace whose great gain to civilization is yet unknown and unwritten. [Tremendous applause.]

"The faith of a Christian nation recognizes the hand of Almighty God in the ordeal through which we have passed. Divine favor seemed manifest everywhere. In fighting for humanity's sake we have been signally blessed. We did not seek war. To avoid it, if this could be done in honor and justice to the rights of our neighbors and ourselves, was our constant prayer. The war was no more invited by us than were the questions which are laid at our door by its results. [Great applause.] Now as then we will do our duty. [Continued applause.] The problems will not be solved in a day. Patience will be required —patience combined with sincerity of purpose and unshaken resolution to do right, seeking only the highest good of the nation, and recognizing no other obligation, pursuing no other path, but that of duty.

"Right action follows right purpose. We may not at all times be able to divine the future, the way may not always seem clear; but if our aims are high and unselfish, somehow and in some way the right end will be reached. The genius of the nation, its freedom, its wisdom, its humanity, its courage, its justice, favored by divine Providence, will make it equal to every task and the master of every emergency." [Long continued applause.]

SPEECH IN THE COLISEUM, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, OCTOBER 14, 1898.

"*My Fellow Citizens:*—My former visits to St. Louis are full of pleasant memories. My present one I shall never forget. It has warmed my heart and given me encouragement for greater effort to administer the trust which I hold for my country. My first visit was in 1888, and then again in 1892, both of which afforded me an opportunity of becoming acquainted with your people, and of observing the substantial character of your enterprising city. I omitted my quadrennial visit in 1896 for reasons which were obvious to you, and have always been thankful that my absence seemed to have created no prejudice in your minds. [Laughter and applause.]

"I remember, on the occasion of a former visit, in company with Governor Francis and other citizens, to have witnessed the assembled pupils of the schools of the city at your great fair. It was an inspiring sight, and it has never been effaced from my recollection. As I looked into the thousands of young faces of the boys and the girls, preparing themselves for citizenship, I had my faith confirmed in the stability of our institutions. [Applause.] I saw them to-day as I drove about your city with the flag in their hands, and heard their voices ringing with the song we love—

" 'My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty.'

To the youth of the country trained in the schools, which happily are opened to all, must we look to carry forward the fabric of government. It is fortunate for us that our republic appeals to the best and noblest aspirations of its citizens, and makes all things possible to the worthy and industrious youth.

"The personal interest and participation of our citizenship in the conduct of the government make its condition always absorbing and interesting.

"It must be a matter of great gratification to the people of the United States to know that the national credit was never better than now, while the national name was never dearer to us, and never more respected by others the world over. For the first time in the country's history the government has sold a 3 per cent bond, every dollar of which was taken at par. This bond is now at a premium of 5 cents on the dollar; and the profit has gone to the people. [Applause.] The loan was a popular one, and it has been a source of much satisfaction that the people, with their surplus savings, were able to buy the bonds. It is an interesting fact that while we offered two hundred millions of bonds for sale, over fourteen hundred millions were subscribed

by the people of the country, and by the terms of sale no one was able to receive bonds in excess of $5,000. [Applause.]

"It is not without significance, too, that the government has not been required, since 1896, to borrow any money for its current obligations until the war with Spain, while its available balance, October 1, 1898, was upward of three hundred and seven million, of which sum over two hundred and forty-three millions were in gold. Nothing more impressed the nations of the world than the appropriation of a large national defense fund which the treasury was able to pay from its balance, without resort to a loan. While the credit and finance of the government have improved, the business conditions of the people have also happily improved. We are more cheerful, more happy, more contented. Both government and citizens have shared in the general prosperity. The circulation of the country on the 1st of July, 1898, was larger than it had ever been before in our history. It is not so large to-day as then, but the reason for it is that the people put a part of that circulation in the treasury to meet the government bonds which they hold in their hands.

"The people have borne the additional taxation made necessary by the war with the same degree of patriotism that characterized the soldiers who enlisted to fight the country's battles. [Applause.] We have not only prospered in every material sense, but we have established a sentiment of good feeling and a spirit of brotherhood such as the nation has not enjoyed since the earlier years of its history. My countrymen, not since the beginning of the agitation of the question of slavery has there been such a common bond in name and purpose, such genuine affection, such a unity of the sections, such obligation of party and geographical divisions. National pride has been again enthroned; national patriotism has been restored; the national Union cemented closer and stronger; the love for the old flag enshrined in all hearts. North and South have mingled their best blood in a common cause, and to-day rejoice in a common victory. [Great applause.] Happily for the nation to-day, they follow the same glorious banner, together fighting and dying under its sacred folds for American honor and for the humanity of the race. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

"We must guard this restored Union with zealous and sacred care, and, while awaiting the settlements of the war and meeting the problems which will follow, we must stand as Americans, not in the spirit of party, and unite in a common effort for that which will give to the nation its widest influence in the sphere of activity and usefulness to which the war has assigned it. My fellow citizens, let nothing distract us; let no discordant voice intrude to embarrass us in the solution of the mighty problems which involve such vast consequences to our-

selves and posterity. Let us remember that God bestows supreme opportunity upon no nation which is not ready to respond to the call of supreme duty. [Prolonged applause.]

SPEECH AT FIRST REGIMENT ARMORY, CHICAGO, BEFORE THE ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS OF RAILROAD EMPLOYEES, OCTOBER 20, 1898.

"*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:*—I count myself fortunate to have the privilege of meeting with the allied railroad organizations assembled in this great metropolis. I have had in the last ten days very many most interesting and pleasant experiences, as I have journeyed through the country; but I assure you that none of them has given me greater pleasure than to meet the men and the women connected with the operation of the great railroads of the country. It is fortunate, too, that this body of representative men and women should have assembled in this city at a time when the people are celebrating the suspension of hostilities, and their desire for an honorable and just and triumphant peace. The railroad men of the country have always been for the country; the railroad men of the country have always been for the flag of the country; and in every crisis of our national history, in war or in peace, the men from your great organizations have been loyal and faithful to every duty and obligation. [Applause.]

"Yours is at once a profession of great risk and of great responsibility. I know of no occupation in the field of human endeavor that carries with it graver obligations and higher responsibilities than that of the men who sit about me to-day. You transport the commerce of the country; you carry its rich treasures from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and you carry daily and hourly the freightage of humanity that trust you, trust your integrity, your intelligence, your fidelity, for the safety of their lives and of their loved ones. And I congratulate the country that in this system, so interwoven with the everyday life of the citizen and the republic, we have men of such splendid character and ability and intelligence.

"I bring to you to-day not only my good will, but the good will and respect of seventy-five millions of American citizens. Your work is ever before a critical public. You go in and out every day before your countrymen, and you have earned from them deserved and unstinted praise for your fidelity to the great interests of the people whom you serve and of the roads which you operate.

"The virtue of the people lies at the foundation of the republic. The power of the republic is in the American fireside. The virtue that comes out from the holy altar of home is the most priceless gift this

nation has; and when the judgments of the people are spoken through the homes of the people, they command the congress and the executive, and at last crystallize into public law.

"I thank you, my fellow citizens, for your cordial greeting, and I congratulate you upon the evidences of returning prosperity everywhere to be seen. The figures read by your chairman represent the growth of the great railroad system of the country. What you want, what we all want, is business prosperity. When you have that you have something to do. When you have it not you are idle.

"There are few 'empties' now on the side tracks, and so there are few railroad men unemployed. The more you use the freight car the oftener you see the pay car. [Applause.]

"I am glad to observe the First Illinois here with you to-day. That gallant regiment, made up of the volunteers from the homes of Chicago, took their lives into their hands and went to Santiago to fight the battles of liberty for an oppressed people. I am glad to have this opportunity to greet them, to congratulate and to thank them in the name of the American people. [Great applause.]

"And now, having said this much, I bid you know that I will carry from this place, from this audience, from these warm-hearted men and women, one of the pleasantest memories of my long trip through the West." [Loud and prolonged cheering.]

SPEECH AT THE AUDITORIUM, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, DECEMBER 15, 1898.

"*Governor Candler, President Hemphill, Ladies and Gentlemen:*— I cannot withhold from this people my profound thanks for their hearty reception and the good will which they have shown me everywhere and in every way since I have been their guest. I thank them for the opportunity which this occasion gives me of meeting them, and for the pleasure it affords me to participate with them in honoring the army and the navy, to whose achievements we are indebted for one of the most brilliant chapters of American history.

"Other parts of the country have had their public thanksgivings and jubilees in honor of the historic events of the past year, but nowhere has there been greater rejoicing than among the people here, the gathered representatives of the South. I congratulate them upon their accurate observation of events, which enabled them to fix a date which insured them the privilege of being the first to celebrate the signing of the treaty of peace by the American and Spanish commissioners. Under hostile fire on a foreign soil, fighting in a common cause, the memory of old disagreements has faded into history. From

camp and campaign there comes the magic healing which has closed ancient wounds and effaced their scars. For this result every American patriot will forever rejoice. It is no small indemnity for the cost of the war.

"This government has proved itself invincible in the recent war, and out of it has come a nation which will remain indivisible forevermore. [Applause.] No worthier contributions have been made in patriotism and in men than by the people of these Southern states. When at last the opportunity came they were eager to meet it, and with promptness responded to the call of country. Intrusted with the able leadership of men dear to them, who had marched with their fathers under another flag, now fighting under the old flag again, they have gloriously helped to defend its spotless folds, and added new luster to its shining stars. That flag has been planted in two hemispheres, and there it remains the symbol of liberty and law, of peace and progress. [Great applause.] Who will withdraw from the people over whom it floats its protecting folds? Who will haul it down? Answer me, ye men of the South, who is there in Dixie who will haul it down? [Tremendous applause.]

"The victory we celebrate is not that of a ruler, a president, or a congress, but of the people. [Applause.] The army whose valor we admire, and the navy whose achievements we applaud, were not assembled by draft or conscription, but from voluntary enlistment. The heroes came from civil as well as military life. Trained and untrained soldiers wrought our triumphs.

"The peace we have won is not a selfish truce of arms, but one whose conditions presage good to humanity. The domains secured under the treaty yet to be acted upon by the senate came to us not as the result of a crusade or conquest, but as the reward of temperate, faithful, and fearless response to the call of conscience, which could not be disregarded by a liberty-loving and Christian people.

"We have so borne ourselves in the conflict and in our intercourse with the powers of the world as to escape complaint or complication, and give universal confidence in our high purpose and unselfish sacrifices for struggling peoples. The task is not fulfilled. Indeed, it is only just begun. The most serious work is still before us, and every energy of heart and mind must be bent, and the impulses of partisanship subordinated, to its faithful execution. This is the time for earnest, not faint, hearts.

" 'New occasions teach new duties.' To this nation and to every nation there come formative periods in its life and history. New conditions can be met only by new methods. Meeting these conditions

hopefully, and facing them bravely and wisely, is to be the mightiest test of American virtue and capacity. Without abandoning past limitations, traditions and principles, by meeting present opportunities and obligations, we shall show ourselves worthy of the great trusts which civilization has imposed upon us. [Great applause.]

"At Bunker Hill liberty was at stake; at Gettysburg the Union was the issue; before Manila and Santiago our armies fought, not for gain or revenge, but for human rights. They contended for the freedom of the oppressed, for whose welfare the United States has never failed to lend a helping hand to establish and uphold, and, I believe, never will. The glories of the war cannot be dimmed, but the result will be incomplete and unworthy of us unless supplemented by civil victories, harder possibly to win, but in their way no less indispensable. [Great applause.]

"We will have our difficulties and our embarrassments. They follow all victories and accompany all great responsibilities. They are inseparable from every great movement or reform. But American capacity has triumphed over all in the past. [Applause.] Doubts have in the end vanished. Apparent dangers have been averted or avoided, and our own history shows that progress has come so naturally and steadily on the heels of new and grave responsibilities that as we look back upon the acquisitions of territory by our fathers, we are filled with wonder that any doubt could have existed or any apprehension could have been felt of the wisdom of their action or their capacity to grapple with the then untried and mighty problems. [Great applause.]

"The republic is to-day larger, stronger and better prepared than ever before for wise and profitable development in new directions and along new lines. Even if the minds of some of our own people are still disturbed by perplexing and anxious doubts, in which all of us have shared and still share, the genius of American civilization will, I believe, be found both original and creative, and capable of subserving all the great interests which shall be confided to our keeping. [Applause.]

"Forever in the right, following the best impulses and clinging to high purposes, using properly and within right limits our power and opportunities, honorable reward must inevitably follow. The outcome cannot be in doubt. We could have avoided all the difficulties that lie across the pathway of the nation if a few months ago we had coldly ignored the piteous appeals of the starving and oppressed inhabitants of Cuba. If we had blinded ourselves to the conditions so near our shores, and turned a deaf ear to our suffering neighbors, the issue of

territorial expansion in the Antilles and the East Indies would not have been raised.

"But could we have justified such a course? [General cry of 'No!'] Is there any one who would now declare another to have been the better course [Cries of 'No!'] With less humanity and less courage on our part, the Spanish flag, instead of the Stars and Stripes, would still be floating at Cavite, at Ponce, and at Santiago, and a 'chance in the race of life' would be wanting to millions of human beings who to-day call this nation noble, and who, I trust, will live to call it blessed.

"Thus far we have done our supreme duty. Shall we now, when the victory won in war is written in the treaty of peace, and the civilized world applauds and waits in expectation, turn timidly away from the duties imposed upon the country by its own great deeds? And when the mists fade away and we see with clear vision, may we not go forth rejoicing in a strength which has been employed solely for humanity and always tempered with justice and mercy, confident of our ability to meet the exigencies which await us, because confident that our course is one of duty and our cause that of right? [Prolonged applause.]

M'KINLEY ON AMERICAN WOMANHOOD.

In 1896 more than 600 women of Northern Ohio made an excursion to Canton to congratulate McKinley on his nomination for the Presidency. In response to their addresses of greeting Mr. McKinley gave utterance to the following words as showing his estimate of the place of woman in American life:

"There is no limitation to the influence that may be exerted by woman in the United States and no adequate tribute can be spoken of her services to mankind throughout its eventful history. In the distant period of its settlement, in the day of the revolution, in the trials of western pioneer life, during the more recent but dread days of our civil war and, indeed, in every step of our progress as a nation, the devotion and sacrifices of woman were constantly apparent and often conspicuous. She was everywhere appreciated and recognized, though God alone could place her service at its true value. The work of woman has been a power in every emergency and always for good. In calamity and distress she has been helpful and heroic. Not only have some of the brightest pages of our national history been illuminated by her splendid example and noble efforts for the public good, but her influence in the home, the church, the school and the community in moulding character for every profession and duty to which our race is called, has been potential and sublime. It is in the quiet and peaceful walks of life that her power is greatest and most beneficial. One of the tenderest passages

to me in the works of John Stuart Mill beautifully expresses this thought. It is recorded in his autobiography when he paused to pay high and deserved tribute to his wife, of whom he could not speak too much. He says: 'She was not only the author of many of the best things I did, but she inspired every good thing I did.'

"One of the best things of our civilization in America is the constant advancement of woman to a higher plane of labor and responsibility. The opportunities for her are greater now than ever before. This is singularly true here, where practically every avenue of human endeavor is open to her. Her impress is felt in art, science, literature, song and in government. Our churches, our schools, our charities, our professions and our general business interests are more than ever each year directed by her. Respect for womankind has become with us a national characteristic; and what a high and manly trait it is—none nobler or holier. It stamps the true gentleman. The man who loves wife and mother and home will respect and reverence all womankind. He is always the better citizen for such gentle breeding.

"The home over which the trusted wife presides is the citadel of our strength, the best guaranty of good citizenship and sound morals in government. It is at the foundation—upon it all else is constructed. From the plain American home where virtue dwells and truth abides, go forth the men and women who make the great states and cities which adorn our republic, which maintain law and order, that citizenship which aims at the public welfare, the common good of all."

M'KINLEY'S ESTIMATE OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

McKinley was the orator at the celebration in the Auditorium of Washington's birthday, held under the auspices of the Union League Club in 1894. He traced the life of Washington until he reached the period of the drafting of the constitution and its adoption. And this is how the Ohio man described it and told his opinion of it:

"It has been strong enough for every emergency; it has been broad enough for every want; it has answered for the most part every new condition; it has survived every crisis in our national life. It provides for such frequent elections that if popular error gains the ascendency the sober second thought of the citizens can, in part at least, correct the mistake through the great representatives body of the national congress; it insures frequent appeals to the popular will as an easy and safe remedy for existing wrongs and invests the people with perpetual power to change policies, laws and administrations whenever they find them men-

acing to the liberties or welfare of the country. It commands more general and cheerful obedience, and it is much more venerated today than ever before. But strong as the constitution is, the greatest safety to the republic is in the love and loyalty which the people bear it, the unwavering affection which is ever ready to kindle the flame of patriotism on our country's altar. May our love never abate and our loyalty never weaken! When patriotism falters, respect for charters and laws is at an end. The downfall of the nation begins when hope and faith in our institiutions are gone."

M'KINLEY'S LAST PUBLIC ADDRESS AT THE PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION, BUFFALO, SEPTEMBER 5, 1901.

Viewed in the light of the tragic developments which followed it, the speech which President McKinley delivered upon the occasion of his last public appearance, at the Buffalo exposition ,takes on a singular impressiveness. To his countrymen at large, this definition of the nation's aspirations and its future mission among nations stands almost as the statement of William McKinley's legacy to his country. The speech is both a summary of the nation's recent achievements and a forecast of the duties and triumphs which are to come. In the years of expanding influence which are before the United States it is not unlikely that the leaders in the political life of the nation will find in this utterance the touch-stone by which to try issues of international policy.

It is significant of Mr. McKinley's breadth of view at the climax of his career that upon the most important items of his program both democrat and republican, northerner and southerner, will be in accord. Trade expansion, with the increase of beneficent power and influence which attends it, he defined as the dominant principle of American politics in the immediate future; but his advocacy of this policy stands as something more than an argument for an expansion of material interests. It can never be forgotten by the republican party that the strongest and most impressive plea for freer trade relations and the increased activity of the United States in the exchanges of the world was made by the man who had most earnestly worked for a policy of exclusive home development, so long as he believed that policy to be necessary. And it is impossible that any one who followed the thread of the president's Buffalo speech should fail to see that in boldly outlining this new policy he was animated not less by a patriotic desire for the nation's welfare than by a confident belief in the great role which it is destined to play in making for the progress and enlightenment of the world.

Those who are to take up the work which he has laid down could

scarcely have a higher conception of the mission which the nation is to fulfill than is embodied in this final expression of the dead President.

The address is as follows:

"*President Milburn, Director-General Buchanan, Commissioners, Ladies and Gentlemen* —I am glad to be again in the city of Buffalo and exchange greetings with her people, to whose generous hospitality I am not a stranger, and with whose good will I have been repeatedly and signally honored.

"To-day I have additional satisfaction in meeting and giving welcome to the foreign representatives assembled here, whose presence and participation in this exposition have contributed in so marked a degree to its interests and success. To the commissioners of the Dominion of Canada and the British colonies, the French colonies, the republics of Mexico and of Central and South America, and the commissioners of Cuba and Porto Rico, who share with us in this undertaking, we give the hand of fellowship and felicitate with them upon the triumphs of art, science, education and manufacture which the old has bequethed to the new century.

"Expositions are the timekeepers of progress. They record the world's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise and intellect of the people and quicken human genius. They go into the home. They broaden and brighten the daily life of the people. They open mighty storehouses of information to the student.

BENEFIT IN EXPOSITIONS.

"Every exposition, great or small, has helped to some onward step. Comparison of ideas is always educational, and as such instructs the brain and hand of man. Friendly rivalry follows, which is the spur to industrial improvement, the inspiration to useful invention and to high endeavor in all departments of human activity. It exacts a study of the wants, comforts and even the whims of the people and recognizes the efficacy of high quality and low prices to win their favor.

"The quest for trade is an incentive to men of business to devise, invent, improve and economize in the cost of production. Business life, whether among ourselves or with other people, is ever a sharp struggle for success. It will be none the less so in the future. Without competition we would be clinging to the clumsy and antiquated processes of farming and manufacture and the methods of business of long ago, and the twentieth would be no further advanced than the eighteenth century. But though commercial competitors we are, commercial enemies we must not be.

INVITES FRIENDLY RIVALRY.

"The Pan-American exposition has done its work thoroughly, presenting in its exhibits evidences of the highest skill and illustrating the progress of the human family in the western hemisphere. This portion of the earth has no cause for humiliation for the part it has performed in the march of civilization. It has not accomplished everything; far from it. It has simply done its best, and without vanity or boastfulness and recognizing the manifold achievements of others, it invites the friendly rivalry of all the powers in the peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce, and will co-operate with all in advancing the highest and best interests of humanity.

"The wisdom and energy of all the nations are none too great for the world. Modern inventions have brought into close relation widely separated peoples, and made them better acquainted. Geographical and political divisions will continue to exist, but distances have been effaced.

ANNIHILATION OF SPACE.

"Swift ships and fast trains are becoming cosmopolitan. They invade fields which a few years ago were impenetrable. The world's products are exchanged as never before, and with increasing transportation facilities come increasing knowledge and trade. Prices are fixed with mathematical precision by supply and demand. The world's selling prices are regulated by market and crop reports. We travel greater distances in a shorter space of time and with more ease than was ever dreamed of by the fathers.

"Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. The same important news is read, though in different languages, the same day in all Christendom. The telegraph keeps us advised of what is occurring everywhere, and the press foreshadows, with more or less accuracy, the plans and purposes of the nations. Market prices of products and of securities are hourly known in every commercial mart, and the investments of the people extend beyond their own national boundaries into the remotest parts of the earth. Vast transactions are conducted and international exchanges are made by the tick of the cable. Every event of interest is immediately bulletined.

COMPARISON IS DRAWN.

"The quick gathering and transmission of news, like rapid transit, are of recent origin, and are only made possible by the genius of the inventor and the courage of the investor. It took a special messenger of the government, with every facility known at the time for rapid travel, nineteen days to go from the city of Washington to New

THE LAST FAREWELL

Orleans with a message to General Jackson that the war with England had ceased and a treaty of peace had been signed.

"How different now! We reach General Miles in Porto Rico by cable, and he was able through the military telegraph to stop his army on the firing line with the message that the United States and Spain had signed a protocol suspending hostilities. We knew almost instantly of the first shots fired at Santiago, and the subsequent surrender of the Spanish forces was known at Washington within less than an hour of its consummation. The first ship of Cervera's fleet had hardly emerged from that historic harbor when the fact was flashed to our capital and the swift destruction that followed was announced immediately through the wonderful medium of telegraphy.

DARK DAYS AT PEKING.

"So accustomed are we to safe and easy communication with distant lands that its temporary interruption, even in ordinary times, results in loss and inconvenience. We shall never forget the days of anxious waiting and awful suspense when no information was permitted to be sent from Peking, and the diplomatic representatives of the nations in China, cut off from all communication inside and outside of the walled capital, were surrounded by an angry and misguided mob that threatened their lives; nor the joy that thrilled the world when a single message from the government of the United States brought through our minister the first news of the safety of the besieged diplomats.

"At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not a mile of steam railroad on the globe. Now, there are enough miles to make its circuit many times. Then there was not a line of electric telegraph; now we have vast mileage traversing all lands and all seas.

"God and man have linked the nations together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other. And as we are brought more and more in touch with each other, the less occasion is there for misunderstandings and the stronger the disposition, when we have differences, to adjust them in the court of arbitration, which is the noblest forum for the settlement of international disputes.

PROSPERITY OF THE NATION

"My fellow citizens, trade statistics indicate that this country is in a state of unexampled prosperity. The figures are almost appalling. They show that we are utilizing our fields and forest and mines and that we are furnishing profitable employment to the millions of workingmen throughout the United States, bringing comfort and happiness to

their homes and making it possible to lay by their savings for old age and disability.

"That all the people are participating in this great prosperity is seen in every American community and shown by the enormous and unprecedented deposits in our savings banks. Our duty is the care and security of these deposits, and their safe investment demands the highest integrity and the best business capacity of those in charge of those depositories of the people's earnings.

"We have a vast and intricate business, built up through years of toil and struggle, in which every part of the country has its stake, which will not permit of either neglect or of undue selfishness. No narrow, sordid policy will subserve it. The greatest skill and wisdom on the part of the manufacturers and producers will be required to hold and increase it. Our industrial enterprises, which have grown to such proportions, affect the homes and occupations of the people and the welfare of the country. Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention.

FOR ENLIGHTENED POLICY.

"Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. In these times of marvelous business energy and gain we ought to be looking to the future, strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems, so that we may be ready for any storm or strain.

"By sensible trade arrangement which will not interrupt our home production we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fanciful security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor.

"Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

EXPANSION AND RECIPROCITY.

"The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not. If, perchance, some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?

"Then, too, we have inadequate steamship service. New lines of steamers have already been put in commission between the Pacific coast ports of the United States and those on the western coasts of Mexico and Central and South America. These should be followed up with direct steamship lines between the eastern coasts of the United States and South American ports. One of the needs of the times is direct commercial lines from our vast fields of production to the fields of consumption that we have but barely touched. Next in advantage to having the thing to sell is to have the convenience to carry it to the buyer.

"We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense; they will be messengers of peace and amity wherever they go.

"We must build the isthmian canal, which will unite the two oceans and give a straight line of water communication with the western coasts of Central America, South America and Mexico. The construction of a Pacific cable cannot be longer postponed.

GIVES BLAINE CREDIT.

"In the furtherance of these objects of national interest and concern you are performing an important part. This exposition would have touched the heart of the American statesman whose mind was ever alert and thought ever constant for a larger commerce and a truer fraternity of the republics of the new world. His broad American spirit is felt and manifested here He needs no identification to an assemblage of Americans anywhere, for the name of Blaine is inseparably associated with the Pan-American movement, which finds this practical and substantial expression, and which we all hope will be firmly advanced by the Pan-American congress that assembles this autumn in the capital of Mexico.

"The good work will go on. It cannot be stopped. These buildings will disappear, this creation of art and beauty and industry will perish from sight, but their influence will remain to

"Make it live beyond its too short living
With praises and thanksgiving.

"Who can tell the new thoughts that have been awakened, the ambitions fired and the high achievements that will be wrought through this exposition?

"Gentlemen, let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict, and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war. We hope that all who are represented here may be moved to higher and nobler effort for their own and the world's good, and that out of this city may come not only greater commerce and trade for us all, but, more essential than these, relations of mutual respect, confidence and friendship which will deepen and endure.

"Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness and peace to all our neighbors and like blessings to all the people and powers of earth."

ROBERT P. PORTER, THE WELL-KNOWN AMERICAN JOURNALIST AND CUBAN COMMISSIONER, SAYS OF THIS ADDRESS:

"President McKinley's Buffalo speech defined the very essence of reciprocity. We must take from customers some of their products in exchange for our own, else, unguarded by a strong protective tariff, how can they pay for our goods? We have a dozen commercial treaties negotiated by the McKinley administration awaiting ratification by the senate. President McKinley strongly urged the confirmation of these without delay.

"Those who believe in reciprocity as the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development, as the late President did, will be glad to learn that President Roosevelt will vigorously push their ratification. He was never so strong an advocate of protection as the late President, consequently it will be easier for him to change with the new conditions facing the republican party, while by no means abandoning the home markets.

WORDS WERE SIGNIFICANT.

"The republican leaders must realize the significance of President McKinley's last words. Coming from so loyal a protectionist, they would have their effect on the majority of the senate.

"President Roosevelt's opinion also should have weight with those who believe in broader trade relations with the world, and they should wish him success in converting the senate to the theory of the martyred President: 'We sell everything. We can buy wherever buying will

MRS. WILLIAM McKINLEY
Mother of the President

enlarge our sales.' That is true reciprocity. That is the only foreign trade policy for the United States.

"Unless President Roosevelt has materially modified the views he has always expressed he will adhere to these general principles."

GOLDEN SAYINGS OF M'KINLEY.

A noble manhood, nobly consecrated to man, never dies.

God puts no nation in supreme place which will not do supreme duty.

Patriotism is above party and national honor is dearer than any party name.

The American home lies at the very beginning and foundation of a pure national life.

God will not long prosper that nation which will not protect and defend its weakened citizens.

Christian character is the foundation upon which we must build if our citizenship is to be uplifted and our institutions are to endure.

The men who established this government had faith in God and sublimely trusted in him. They besought his counsel and advice in every step of their progress. And so it has been ever since; American history abounds in instances of this trait of piety, this sincere reliance on a higher power in all our national affairs.

Improvement in every walk of life is the outgrowth of thought and discussion and ambition. We do better as we are better ourselves.

Self-government politically can be successfully only if it be accompanied by self-government personally; there must be government somewhere.

The American home where honesty, sobriety, and truth preside, and a simple, every-day virtue without pomp and ostentation is practiced, is the nursery of all true educations.

The want of time is manly men, men of character, culture and courage, of faith and sincerity; the exalted manhood which forges its way to the front by the force of its own merits.

It is the duty of each of us, by word and act, in so far as it can be done, to improve the present condition. But, above all, we must not disparage our government. We must uphold it and uphold it at all times and in all circumstances.

The tomorrows are too full to be crowded with the yesterdays. We must move on and forward. We must learn that every day is a new day, with its own distinctive and commanding duties, and cannot atone for the yesterdays unimproved.

No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of man than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency.

The labor of the country constitutes its strength and its wealth, and the better that labor is conditioned the higher its rewards, the wider its opportunities, and the greater its comforts and refinements, the more sacred will be our homes, the more capable will be our children and the nobler will be the destiny that awaits us.

The first duty of a nation is to enact those laws which will give to its citizens the widest opportunity for labor and the best rewards for work done. You cannot have the best citizenship without these encouragements, and with us the best citizenship is required to secure the best government, the best laws and their wise administration.

An open schoolhouse, free to all, evidences the highest type of advanced civilization. It is the gateway to progress, prosperity and honor and the best security for the liberties and independence of the people. It is the strongest rock of the foundation, the most enduring stone of the temple of liberty—ay, the very citadel of our influence and power. It is better than garrison and guns, than forts and fleets.

Peace, order and good-will among the people, with patriotism in their hearts, truth, honor and justice in the executive, judicial and legislative branches of the government, municipal, state and national; all yielding respect and obedience to law, all equal before the law and all alike amenable to law—such are the conditions that will make our government too strong even to be broken by internal dissensions and too powerful even to be overturned by any enemy from without.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Abraham Lincoln.

Life Described by William McKinley.

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Marquette Club and My Fellow-Citizens:

It requires the most gracious pages in the world's history to record what one American achieved. The story of this simple life is the story of a plain, honest, manly citizen, true patriot, and profound statesmen, who, believing with all the strength of his mighty soul in the institutions of his country, won because of them the highest place in its government—then fell a precious sacrifice to the union he held so dear, which Providence had spared his life long enough to save.

We meet tonight to do honor to this immortal hero, Abraham Lincoln, whose achievements have heightened human aspirations and broadened the field of opportunity to the races of men. While the party with which we stand, and for which he stood, can justly claim him, and without dispute can boast the distinction of being the first to honor and trust him, his fame has leaped the bounds of party and country, and now belongs to mankind and the ages.

What were the traits of character which made Abraham Lincoln prophet and master, without a rival, in the greatest crisis in our history? What gave him such mighty power? To me the answer is simple: Lincoln had sublime faith in the people. He walked with and among them. He recognized the importance and power of an enlightened public sentiment and was guided by it. Even amid the vicissitudes of war he concealed little from public review and inspection. In all he did he invited, rather than evaded, examination and criticism. He submitted his plans and purposes, as far as practicable, to public consideration with perfect frankness and sincerity. There was such homely simplicity in his character that it could not be hedged in by the pomp of place nor the ceremonies of high official station. He was so accessible to the public that he seemed to take the whole people into his confidence. Here, perhaps, was one secret of his power. The people never lost their confidence in him, however much they unconsciously added to his personal discomfort and trials. His patience was almost superhuman, and who will say that he was mistaken in his treatment of the thousands who thronged continually

about him? More than once when reproached for permitting visitors to crowd upon him he asked, in pained surprise: "Why, what harm does this confidence in men do me? I get only good and inspiration from it."

HE DISDAINED NO HUMAN BEING.

Horace Greeley once said: "I doubt whether man, woman or child, white or black, bond or free, virtuous or vicious, ever accosted or reached forth a hand to Abraham Lincoln and detected in his countenance or manner any repugnance or shrinking from the proffered contact, any assumption of superiority or betrayal of disdain."

Frederick Douglass, the orator and patriot, is credited with saying: "Mr. Lincoln is the only white man with whom I have ever talked, or in whose presence I have ever been, who did not, consciously or unconsciously, betray to me that he recognized my color."

George Bancroft, the historian, alluding to this characteristic, which was never so conspicuously manifested as during the darker hours of the war, beautifully illustrated it in these memorable words: "As a child, in a dark night, on a rugged way, catches hold of the hand of its father for guidance and support, Lincoln clung fast to the hand of the people and moved calmly through the gloom."

His earliest public utterances were marked by this confidence. On March 9, 1832, when announcing himself as a candidate for representative in the Illinois legislature, he said that he felt it his duty to make known to the people his sentiments upon the questions of the day:

"Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition, and, whether it be true or not, I can say, for one, that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed by my fellow-men by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition is yet to be developed. I am young and unknown to many of you. I was born and have ever remained in the humblest walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular relatives or friends to recommend me. My case is thrown exclusively upon the independent voters of the county. * * * But if the good people in their wisdom shall see fit to keep me in the background, I have been too familiar with disappointments to be very much chagrined."

In this remarkable address—to me always pathetic—made when he was only 23, the main elements of Lincoln's character and the qualities which made his great career possible are revealed with startling distinctness. It expresses the experience of the noble young man of today equally as well as then. We see therein "that brave old wisdom of sincerity," that oneness in feeling with the common people, and that supreme confidence in them which formed the foundation of his political faith.

A DEMOCRAT, LIKE FRANKLIN.

Among the statesmen of America, Lincoln is the true democrat; and, Franklin perhaps excepted, the first great one. He had no illustrious ancestry, no inherited place or wealth, and none of the prestige, power, training or culture which were assured to the gentry or landed classes, of our own colonial times. Nor did Lincoln believe that these classes respectable and patriotic however they might be, should, as a matter of abstract right, have the controlling influence in our government. Instead, he believed in the all-pervading power of public opinion.

Lincoln had little or no instruction in the common school; but, as the eminent Dr. Cuyler has said, he was graduated from "the grand college of free labor, whose works were the flat boat, the farm and the backwoods lawyer's office." He had a broad comprehension of the central idea of popular government. The declaration of independence was his handbook; time and again he expressed his belief in freedom and equality. On July 1, 1854, he wrote:

"Most governments have been based, practically, on the denial of the equal rights of men. Ours began by affirming those rights. They said: 'Some men are too ignorant and vicious to share in government.' 'Probably so,' said we; 'and by your system you would always keep them ignorant and vicious. We propose to give all a chance; and we expected the weak to grow stronger, the ignorant wiser, and all better and happier together.' We made the experiment, and the fruit is before us. Look at it! Think of it! Look at it in its aggregate grandeur, extent of country and numbers of population."

Lincoln believed in the uplifting influences of free government, and that by giving all a chance we could get higher average results for the people than where governments are exclusive and opportunities are limited to the few. No American ever did so much as he to enlarge these opportunities, or tear down the barriers which excluded a free participation in them. In his first message to Congress, at the special session convening on July 4, 1861, he gave signal evidence of his faith in our institutions and their elevating influences in most impressive language. He said:

"It may be affirmed without extravagance that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the powers and improved the condition of our whole people beyond any example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and impressive illustration. So large an army as the government now has on foot was never before known without a soldier in it but who has taken his place there of his own free choice. [Then what followed in his message is, to me, the highest and most touching tribute ever spoken or written of our matchless volunteer army of 1861-65 by any American

statesman, soldier or citizen from that day to this.]: But more than this, there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences and professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known to the world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a president, a cabinet, a congress, and perhaps a court, abundantly competent to administer the government itself."

What a noble, self-sacrificing army of freemen he describes! The like of it mankind never saw before and will not look upon soon again. Their service and sacrifice were not in vain—the union is stronger, freer and better than ever before because they lived, and the peace, fraternity and harmony, which Lincoln prayed might come, and which he prophesied would come, are happily here. And now that the wounds of the war are healed, may we not tonight with grateful hearts resolve, in the words of Lincoln, that we will "care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan."

GREW STEADILY TO MEET HIS TASK.

Lincoln's antecedent life seems to have been one of unconscious preparation for the great responsibilities which were committed to him in 1860. As one of the masses himself, and living with them, sharing their feelings and sympathizing with their daily trials, their hopes and aspirations, he was better fitted to lead them than any other man of his age. He recognizes more clearly than anyone else that the plain people he met in his daily life and knew so familiarly were, according to the dictates of justice and our theory of government, its ultimate rulers and the arbiters of its destiny. He knew this not as a theory, but from his own personal experience.

Born in poverty, and surrounded by obstacles on every hand seemingly insurmountable but for the intervening hand of Providence, Lincoln grew every year into greater and grander intellectual power and vigor. His life, until he was twelve years old, was spent either in a "half-faced camp" or cabin. Yet amid such surroundings the boy learned to read, write and cipher, to think, declaim and speak, in a manner far beyond his years and time. All his days in the school house "added together would not make a single year." But every day of his life from infancy to manhood was a constant drill in the school of nature and experience. His study of books and newspapers was beyond that of any other person in his town or neighborhood, and perhaps of his county or section. He did not read many books, but he learned more from them than any other reader. It was strength of body as well as of mind that made Lincoln's career possible. Ill success only spurred him into making

himself more worthy of trust and confidence. Nothing could daunt him. He might have but a single tow-linen shirt, or only one pair of jean pantaloons; he often did not know where his next dollar was to come from, but he mastered English grammar and composition, arithmetic, geometry, surveying, logic and law.

How well he mastered the art of expression is shown by the incident of the Yale professor who heard his Cooper Institute speech and called on him at his hotel to inquire where he had learned his matchless power as a public speaker. The modest country lawyer was in turn surprised to be suspected of possessing unusual talents as an orator, and could only answer that his sole training had been in the school of experience.

GREAT ORATOR AND POPULAR LEADER.

Eight years' service in the Illinois legislature, two in congress, and nearly thirty years' political campaigning, in the most exciting period of American politics, gave scope for the development of his powers, and that tact, readiness, and self-reliance which were invaluable to a modest, backward man, such as Lincoln naturally was. Added to these qualities he had the genius which communizes, which puts a man on a level, not only with the highest but with the lowest of his kind. By dint of patient industry, and by using wisely his limited opportunities, he became the most popular orator, the best political manager, and the ablest leader of his party in Illinois.

But the best training he had for the presidency, after all, was his twenty-three years' arduous experience as a lawyer traveling the circuit of the courts of his district and state. Here he met in forensic contests, and frequently defeated some of the most powerful legal minds of the West. In the higher courts he won still greater distinction in the important cases committed to his charge.

With this preparation it is not surprising that Lincoln entered upon the presidency peculiarly well equipped for its vast responsibilities. His contemporaries, however, did not realize this. The leading statesmen of the country were not prepossessed in his favor. They appear to have had no conception of the remarkable powers latent beneath that uncouth and rugged exterior. It seemed to them strangely out of place that the people should at this, the greatest crisis of their history, intrust the supreme executive power of the nation to one whom they presumptuously called "this ignorant rail-splitter from the prairies of Illinois." Many predicted failure from the beginning.

Lincoln was essentially a man of peace. He inherited from his Quaker forefathers an intense opposition to war. During his brief service in congress he found occasion more than once to express it.

He opposed the Mexican war from principle, but voted men and supplies after hotilities actually began. In one of his few speeches in the house he characterized military glory as "that rainbow that rises in showers of blood—that serpent that charms but to destroy." When he became responsible for the welfare of the country he was none the less earnest for peace. He felt that even in the most righteous cause war is a fearful thing, and he was actuated by the feeling that it ought not to be begun except as a last resort, and then only after it had been precipitated by the enemies of the country. He said in Philadelphia, on Feb. 22, 1861:

"There is no need of bloodshed and war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course; and I may say in advance that there will be no bloodshed unless it is forced upon the government. The government will not use the force unless force is used against it."

HIS RIVALS BECOME HIS MINISTERS.

In the selection of his cabinet he at once showed his greatness and magnanimity. His principal rivals for the presidential nomination were invited to seats in his council chamber. No one but a great man, conscious of his own strength, would have done this. It was soon perceived that his greatness was in no sense obscured by the presence of the distinguished men who sat about him. The most gifted statesmen of the country, Seward, Chase, Cameron, Stanton, Blair, Bates, Welles, Fessenden, and Dennison, some of whom had been leaders in the senate of the United States, composed that historic cabinet, and the man who had been sneered at as "the rail-splitter" suffered nothing by such association and comparison. He was a leader in fact as well as in name.

Magnanimity was one of Linicoln's most striking traits. Patriotism moved him at every step. At the beginning of the war he placed at the head of three most important military departments three of his political opponents, Patterson, Butler and McClellan. He did not propose to make it a partisan war. He sought by every means in his power to enlist all who were patriots.

In his message of July 4, 1861, he stated his purpose in these words:

"I desire to preserve the government that it may be administered for all, as it was administered by the men who made it. On the side of the union it is a struggle to maintain in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men, lift artificial burdens from all shoulders and clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all, to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. This is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend."

MR. ABNER McKINLEY

Many people were impatient at Lincoln's conservatism. He gave the south every chance possible. He pleaded with them with an earnestness that was pathetic. He recognized that the south was not alone to blame for the existence of slavery, but that the sin was a national one. He sought to impress upon the south that he would not use his office as president to take away from them any constitutional right, great or small.

HE PLEADED FIRST FOR PEACE.

In his inaugural he addressed the men of the south, as well as the north, as his "countrymen," one and all, and with an outburst of indescribable tenderness exclaimed: "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies." And then in those wondrously sweet and touching words which even yet thrill the heart, he said:

"Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

But his words were unheeded. The mighty war came with its dreadful train. Knowing no wrong, he dreaded no evil for himself. He had done all he could to save the country by peaceful means. He had entreated and expostulated, now he would do and dare. He had in words of solemn import warned the men of the south. He had appealed to their patriotism by the sacred memories of the battlefields of the revolution, on which the patriot blood of their ancestors had been so bravely shed, not to break up the union. Yet all in vain. "Both parties deprecated war; but one would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came."

Lincoln did all he could to avert it, but there was no hesitation on his part when the sword of rebellion flashed from its scabbard. He was from that moment until the close of his life unceasingly devoted and consecrated to the great purpose of saving the union. All other matters he regarded as trivial, and every movement, of whatever character, whether important or unimportant of itself, was bent to that end.

The world now regards with wonder the infinite patience, gentleness and kindness with which he bore the terrible burdens of that four years' struggle. Humane, forgiving and long suffering himself, he was always especially tender and considerate of the poor, and in his treatment of them was full of those "kind little acts which are of the same blood as great and holy deeds." As Charles Sumner so well said: "With him as President, the idea of republican institutions, where no

place is too high for the humblest, was perpetually manifest, so that his simple presence was a proclamation of the equality of all men."

During the whole of the struggle he was a tower of strength to the union. Whether in defeat or victory, he kept right on, dismayed at nothing, and never to be diverted from the pathway of duty. Always cool and determined, all learned to gain renewed courage, calmness and wisdom from him, and to lean upon his strong arm for support. The proud designation "Father of His Country," was not more appropriately bestowed upon Washington, than the affectionate title "Father Abraham" was given to Lincoln by the soldiers and loyal people of the north.

HIS EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

The crowning glory of Lincoln's administration, and the greatest executive act in American history, was his immortal proclamation of emancipation. Perhaps more clearly than any one else Lincoln had realized years before he was called to the presidency that the country could not continue half slave and half free. He declared it before Seward proclaimed the "irrepressible conflict." The contest between freedom and slavery was inevitable; it was written in the stars. The nation must be either all slave or all free. Lincoln with almost supernatural prescience foresaw it. His prophetic vision is manifested through all his utterances, notably in the great debate between himself and Douglas. To him was given the duty and responsibility of making that great classic of liberty, the declaration of independence, no longer an empty promise, but a glorious fulfillment.

Many long and thorny steps were to be taken before this great act of justice could be performed. Patience and forbearance had to be exercised. It had to be demonstrated that the union could be saved in no other way. Lincoln, much as he abhorred slavery, felt that his chief duty was to save the union, under the constitution, and within the constitution. He did not assume the duties of his great office with the purpose of abolishing slavery, nor changing the constitution, but as a servant of the constitution and the laws of the country then existing. In a speech delivered in Ohio in 1859 he said: "The people of the United States are the rightful masters of both congress and the courts—not to overthrow the constitution, but to overthrow the men who would overthrow the constitution."

This was the principle which governed him, and which he applied in his official conduct when he reached the presidency. We now know that he had emancipation constantly in his mind's eye for nearly two years after his first inauguration. It is true he said at the start: "I believe I have no lawful right to interfere with slavery where it now

exists, and have no intention of doing so"; and that the public had little reason to think he was meditating general emancipation until he issued his preliminary proclamation Sept. 22, 1862.

Just a month before, exactly, he had written to the editor of the New York Tribune:

"My paramount object is to save the union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

HE SAW THE PURPOSES OF GOD.

The difference in his thought and purpose about "the divine institution" is very apparent in these two expressions. Both were made in absolute honor and sincerity. Public sentiment had undergone a great change, and Lincoln, valiant defender of the constitution that he was and faithful tribune of the people that he always had been, changed with the people. The war had brought them and him to a nearer realization of absolute dependence upon a higher power, and had quickened his conceptions of duty more acutely than the public could realize. The purposes of God, working through the ages, were perhaps more clearly revealed to him than to any other.

Besides, it was as he himself once said: "It is a quality of revolutions not to go by old times or old laws, but to break up both and make new ones." He was "naturally anti-slavery," and the determination he formed when, as a young man, he witnessed an auction in the slave shambles of New Orleans, never forsook him. It is recorded how his soul burned with indignation, and that he then exclaimed: "If ever I get a chance to hit that thing, I'll hit it hard." He "hit it hard" when, as a member of the Illinois legislature, he protested that "the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy. He "hit it hard" when, as a member of congress, he "voted for the Wilmot proviso as good as forty times." He "hit it hard" when he stumped his state against the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and on the direct issue carried Illinois in favor of anti-slavery by a majority of 4,414 votes. He "hit it hard" when he approved the law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, an antislavery measure that he had voted for in congress. He "hit it hard" when he signed the acts abolishing slavery in all the territories, and for the repeal of the fugitive slave law. But it still remained for him to strike slavery its death blow. He did that in his glorious proclamation of freedom.

VALUE OF THE BLACK SOLDIERS.

It was in this light that Lincoln himself viewed these great events. He wrote to a mass meeting of unconditional union men at Springfield, Ill., Aug. 26, 1863, as follows:

"The emancipation policy and the use of colored troops constitute the heaviest blow yet felt to the rebellion, and at least one of these important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of black soldiers. * * * The job was a great national one, and let none be banned who bore an honorable part in it. * * * Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay; and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have proved that among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And then there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they strove to hinder it."

Secretary Seward tells how when he carried the historic proclamation to the President for signature at noon on the 1st day of January, 1863, he said: "I have been shaking hands since 9 o'clock this morning, and my right hand is almost paralyzed. If my name ever goes into history, it will be for this act, and my whole soul is in it. If my hand trembles when I sign the proclamation all who examine the document hereafter will say, 'he hesitated.'" He turned to the table, took up his pen, and slowly, firmly wrote that 'Abraham Lincoln' with which the whole world is now familiar. Then he looked up and said: "That will do."

In all the long years of slavery agitation, unlike any of the other antislavery leaders, Lincoln always carried the people with him. In 1854 Illinois cast loose from her old democratic moorings and followed his leadership in a most emphatic protest against the repeal of the Missouri compromise. In 1858 the people of Illinois indorsed his opposition to the aggressions of slavery, in a state usually democratic, even against so popular a leader as "the Little Giant." In 1860 the whole country indorsed his position on slavery, even when the people were continually harrangued that his election meant the dissolution of the union. During the war the people advanced with him, step by step, to its final overthrow. Indeed, in the election of 1864, the people not only indorsed emancipation, but went far toward recognizing the political equality of the negro. They heartily justified the President in having enlisted colored soldiers to fight, side by side, with the white man in

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the noble cause of union and liberty. Aye, they did more, they indorsed his position on another and vastly more important phase of the race problem. They approved his course as President in reorganizing the government of Louisiana, and a hostile press did not fail to call attention to the fact that this meant eventually negro suffrage in that state.

Perhaps, however, it was not known then that Lincoln had written the new free state governor on March 13, 1864, as follows:

"Now you are about to have a convention, which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for you private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in—as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom."

IMMORTAL GETTYSBURG SPEECH.

Lincoln had that happy, peculiar habit, which few public men have attained, of looking away from the deceptive and misleading influences about him, and none are more deceptive than those of public life in our captitals, straight into the hearts of the people. He could not be deceived by the self-interested host of eager counselors who sought to enforce their own particular views upon him as the voice of the country. He chose to determine for himself what the people were thinking about and wanting him to do, and no man ever lived who was a more accurate judge of their opinions and wishes.

The battle of Gettysburg turned the scale of the war in favor of the union, and it has always seemed to me most fortunate that Lincoln declared for emancipation before rather than after that decisive contest. A later proclamation might have been constructed as a tame and cowardly performance, not a challenge of truth to error for mortal combat. The ground on which the battle was fought is held sacred by every friend of freedom. But important as the battle itself was the dedication of it as a national cemetery is celebrated for a grander thing. The words Lincoln spoke there will live "until time shall be no more," through all eternity. Well may they be forever preserved on tablets of bronze upon the spot where he spoke, but how infinitely better it would be if they could find a permanent lodging in the soul of every American!

USED POWER WITH MODERATION.

Lincoln was a man of moderation. He was neither an autocrat nor a tyrant. If he moved slowly sometimes, it was because it was better to move slowly, and, like the successful general that he was,

he was only waiting for his reserves to come up. Possessing almost unlimited power, he yet carried himself like one of the humblest of men. He weighed every subject. He considered and reflected upon every phase of public duty. He got the average judgment of the plain people. He had a high sense of justice, a clear understanding of the rights of others, and never needlessly inflicted an injury upon any man.

He said in response to a serenade, Nov. 10, 1864, just after his triumphant election for a second term to the great office of President:

"Now that the election is over, may not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? For my own part, I have striven and shall strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a re-election, and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the result."

It is pleasant to note that in the very last public speech by President Lincoln, on April 11, 1865, he uttered noble sentiments of charity and good will similar to those of his sublime second inaugural, which were of peculiar interest to the people of the south. In discussing the question of reconstruction, he said:

"We all agree that the seceded states, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those states, is to again get them into that proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but in fact, easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these states have ever been out of the union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these states and the union, and each forever after innocently indulging his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the states from without into the union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it."

CLEARLY THE GREATEST MAN OF HIS TIME.

Mr. President, it is not difficult to place a correct estimate upon the character of Lincoln. He was the greatest man of his time, especially approved of God for the work He gave him to do. History abundantly proves his superiority as a leader, and establishes his constant reliance upon a higher power for guidance and support. The tendency of this age is to exaggeration, but of Lincoln certainly none have spoken more highly than those who knew him best.

A distinguished orator of to-day (John J. Ingalls, of Kansas,) has said: "Lincoln surpassed all orators in eloquence; all diplomatists in wisdom; all statesmen in foresight, and the most ambitious in fame."

This is in accord with the estimate of Stanton, who pronounced him "the most perfect ruler of men the world had ever seen."

Seward, too, declared Lincoln "a man of destiny, with character made and molded by divine power to save a nation from perdition."

Oliver Wendell Holmes characterized him as "the true representative of this continent; an entirely public man; father of his country; the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of their minds articulated by his tongue."

Bancroft wisely observed: "Lincoln thought always of mankind, as well as his own country, and served human nature itself; he finished a work which all time cannot overthrow."

Sumner said that in Lincoln "the west spoke to the east, pleading for human rights, as declared by our fathers."

Horace Greeley, in speaking of the events which led up to and embraced the rebellion, declared: "Other men were helpful, and nobly did their part; yet, looking back through the lifting mists of those seven eventful, tragic, trying glorious years, I clearly discern the one providential leader, the indispensable hero of the great drama, Abraham Lincoln."

James Russell Lowell was quick to perceive and proclaim Lincoln's greatness. In December, 1863, in a review of the "President's Policy," in the Atlantic Monthly, he said: "Perhaps none of our Presidents since Washington has stood so firm in the confidence of the people as Lincoln, after three years' stormy administration. * * * A profound common sense is the best genius for statesmanship. Hitherto the wisdom of the President's measures has been justified by the fact that they always resulted in more firmly uniting public opinion."

Lincoln is certainly the most sagacious and far-seeing statesman in the annals of American history. His entire public life justifies this estimate of him. It is notable that his stand on all public questions in his earlier as well as his later career stamp him as the wisest exponent of political truths we have ever had.

WISE WORDS FOR THE PRESENT DAY.

Witnessing the government as we do to-day, with its debt-increasing, bond-issuing, gold-depleting, labor-destroying low-tariff policy, with what mighty force the words of Lincoln, written more than half a century ago, come to us in this hour and emergency! They read as if written

for the living present, not for the forgotten past. Why, do you know that as far back as March 1, 1843, at a whig meeting in Springfield, Mr. Lincoln offered a series of resolutions relating to the tariff which could well be accepted here to-night? They were then instantly and unanimously adopted, and Mr. Lincoln was himself appointed to prepare an "Address to the People of the State" upon the subjects which they embraced. Let me read from this address his profound observations upon tariff and taxation and their relation to the condition of the country. He said:

"The first of our resolutions declares a tariff of duties upon foreign importations, producing sufficient revenue for the support of the general government, and so adjusted as to protect American industry, to be indispensably necessary to the prosperity of the American people; and the second declares direct taxation for a national revenue to be improper.

"For several years past the revenues of the government have been unequal to its expenditures, and consequently loan after loan, sometimes direct and sometimes indirect in form, has been resorted to. By this means a new national debt has been created, and is still growing on up with rapidity fearful to contemplate—a rapidity only reasonably to be expected in time of war. This state of things has been produced by a prevailing unwillingness either to increase the tariff or to resort to direct taxation. But the one or the other must come. Coming expenditures must be met, and the present debt must be paid, and money cannot always be borrowed for these objects. The system of loans is but temporary in its nature, and must soon explode. It is a system not only ruinous while it lasts, but one that must soon fail and leave us destitute. As an individual who undertakes to live by borrowing soon finds his original means devoured by interest, and, next, no one left to borrow from, so must it be with the government.

"We repeat, then, that a tariff sufficient for revenue, or a direct tax, must soon be resorted to, and, indeed, we believe this alternative is now denied by no one. But which system shall be adopted? Some of our opponents, in theory, admit the propriety of a tariff for a revenue; but even they will not in practice vote for such a tariff; while others boldly advocate direct taxation. Inasmuch, therefore, as some of them boldly advocate direct taxation, and all the rest—or so nearly all as to make exceptions needless—refuse to adopt the tariff, we think it doing them no injustice to class them all as advocates of direct taxation. Indeed, we believe they are only delaying an open avowal of the system till they can assure themselves that the people will tolerate it. Let us then briefly compare the two systems. The tariff is the cheaper system, because the duties, being collected in large parcels at a few commercial points,

will require comparatively few officers in their collection, while by the direct tax system the land must be literally covered with assessors and collectors, going forth like swarms of Egyptian locusts, devouring every blade of grass and other green thing.

"By this system (the protective) the man who contents himself to live upon the products of his own country pays nothing at all. Surely our country is extensive enough and its products abundant and varied enough to answer all the real wants of its people. In short, by the protective system the burden of revenue falls almost entirely upon the wealthy and luxurious few, while the substantial and laboring many who live at home and upon home products, go entirely free.

"By the direct tax system none can escape. However strictly the citizen may exclude from his premises all foreign luxuries—fine clothes, fine silks, rich wines, golden chains and diamond rings—still for the possession of his house, his barn, and his homespun, he is to be perpetually haunted and harassed by the tax-gatherer. With these views we leave it to be determined whether we or our opponents are the more truly democratic on the subject."

WILL REAFFIRM PROTECTION IN 1896.

"Perhaps it is not entirely accidental that these views of Mr. Lincoln found almost literal expression in the republican national platform of 1860. Nor is it strange that this year, as in 1860, no chart is needed to mark the republican position upon this great economic question. The whole world knew a year in advance of its utterance what the republican platform of 1860 would be, and the whole world knows now, and has known for a year past, what the republican platform of 1896 will be.

Then the battle was to arrest the spread of slave labor in America; now it is to prevent the increase of illy paid and degraded free labor in America. The platform of 1896, I say, is already written—written in the hearts and the homes of the masses of our countrymen. It has been thought out around hundreds of thousands of American firesides—literally wrought out by the new conditions and harsh experiences of the past three years.

On the great questions still unsettled, or in dispute between the dominant parties, we stand now just as we did in 1860, for republican principles are unalterable. On the subject of protection to American labor and American interests we can reaffirm the Lincoln platform of 1860. It needs neither amendment nor elaboration. Indeed, we could begin the platform of 1896 in the exact words with which the fathers of the republican party began the platform of 1860. Its first plank, you will remember, reads as follows:

"Resolved, That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph."

This was said near the close of the last democratic administration, which for a time controlled all branches of the national government. With what truth it applies to the present democratic administration, which for two years following March 4, 1893, again had control of all branches of the national government.

THE LINCOLN TARIFF PLATFORM OF 1860.

Now let me read the Lincoln platform on the tariff, adopted on May 17, 1860, by the second republican national convention, and I submit whether it does not express the sentiment of the great majority of the people of Illinois, and of the whole country, even better to-day than it did then. Here is what it said:

"Resolved, That while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties on imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence."

Better protection no republican could ask or desire; and poorer none should advocate or accept! We are faithfully wedded to the great principle of protection by every tie of party fealty and affection, and it is dearer to us now than ever before. Not only is it dearer to us as republicans, but it has more devoted supporters among the great masses of the American people, irrespective of party, than at any previous period in our national history. It is everywhere recognized and indorsed as the great, masterful, triumphant American principle—the key to our prosperity in business, the safest prop to the treasury of the United States, and the bulwark of our national independence and financial honor.

The question of the continuance or abandonment of our protective system has been one great, overshadowing, or vital question in American politics ever since Mr. Cleveland opened the contest in December, 1887, to which the lamented James G. Blaine made swift reply from across the sea, and it will continue the issue until a truly American policy, for the good of America, is firmly established and perpetuated.

The fight will go on, and must go on, until the American system is everywhere recognized, until all nations come to understand and respect it as distinctly, and all Americans come to honor or love it as dearly as they do the American flag. God grant the day may soon come when all partisan contention over it is forever at an end!

The republican party is competent to carry this policy into effect. Whenever there is anything to be done for this country it is to the republican party we must look to have it done. We are not contending for any particular tariff law, or laws, or for any special schedules, or rates, but for the great principle—the American protective policy—the temporary overthrow of which has brought distress and ruin to every part of our beloved country.

WILL UPHOLD AMERICAN LABOR.

It may be asked what the next republican tariff law will provide. I cannot tell you. I cannot tell you what the schedules and rates will be, but they will measure the difference between American and European conditions—and will moreover be fully adequate to protect ourselves from the invasion of our markets by oriental products to the injury of American labor—and will in no case be too low to protect and exalt American labor, and promote and increase American production.

I cannot better answer this grave inquiry than by an illustration of Mr. Lincoln's. Some one asked him, "How long a man's legs ought to be." He said, "That is a very serious question, and I have given much thought to it a great many times. Some should be longer and some shorter; but I want to tell you that a man's legs ought always to be long enough to reach from his body to the ground." And so I tell you, my inquiring free trade friend, that the legs of the next republican tariff law will be long enough to firmly support the American body politic; sustain the public treasury; lift up our national credit, and uphold the dignity and independence of American labor, and the enterprises and occupations of the American people.

No one need be in any doubt about what the republican party stands for. Its own history makes that too palpable and clear to admit of doubt. It stands for a reunited and recreated nation, based upon free and honest elections in every township, county, city, district and state in this great American union. It stands for the American fireside, and the flag of the nation. It stands for the American farm, the American factory and the prosperity of all the American people. It stands for a reciprocity that reciprocates and which does not yield up to another country a single day's labor that belongs to the American workingmen. It stands for international agreements which get as much

as they give, upon terms of mutual advantage. It stands for an exchange of our surplus home products for such foreign products as we consume, but do not produce. It stands for the reciprocity of Blaine; for the reciprocity of Harrison; for the restoration and extension of the principle embodied in the reciprocity provision of the republican tariff of 1890. It stands for a foreign policy dictated by and imbued with a spirit that is genuinely American; for a policy that will revive the national spirit which carried us proudly through the earlier years of the century. It stands for such a policy with all foreign nations as will insure both to us and them justice, impartiality, fairness, good faith, dignity and honor. It stands for the Monroe doctrine as Monroe himself proclaimed it, about which there is no division whatever among the American people. It stands now, as ever, for honest money, and a chance to earn it by honest toil. It stands for a currency of gold, silver and paper, with which to measure our exchanges that shall be as sound as the government and as untarnished as its honor.

The republican party would as soon think of lowering the flag of our country as to contemplate with patience or without protest and opposition any attempt to degrade or corrupt the medium of exchanges among our people. It can be relied upon in the future as in the past, to supply our country with the best money ever known, gold, silver, and paper, good the world over. It stands for a commercial policy that will whiten every sea with the sails of American vessels, flying the American flag, and that will protect the flag wherever it floats. It stands for a system which will give the United States the balance of trade with every competing nation in the world. It is for a fiscal policy opposed to debts and deficiencies in time of peace, and favors the return of the government to a debt-paying, and opposes the continuance of a debt-making policy.

PARTY WILL HOLD TO LINCOLN'S ADVICE.

And, gentlemen of the Marquette Club, let me tell you that the republican party, true to the advice and example of the immortal Lincoln, is going to make the campaign this year upon its own ground, not upon its opponent's. That is to say, the republicans of the country are not going to help the democratic leaders obscure the issue on which their party has been wrecked and the administration stranded, by taking up every new incident about which a hue and cry may be raised. On the contrary, they will not be led off by side issues, but they will everywhere courageously insist that the people in November shall judge the administration and its party by their works and not by any new and boastful protestations by them. They will give due credit

for any sporadic outburst of patriotic fervor for our rights in foreign countries that the administration may choose to indulge in and rejoice that it is at last on the right side of a great question, which is where the republicans have always been. But the ship of state shall not be lured into shallow waters by false lights. No new-born zeal for American rights, or the national honor, from any quarter whatever, can raise an issue with the grand old republican party which for forty years has steadfastly maintained it both at home and abroad. The new convert belongs to our ranks and he is welcome, but he should remember that he cannot put patriotism at issue with the party which has been the very embodiment of patriotism from its birth to the present hour.

Gentlemen of the Marquette Club, and my fellow citizens, let us cherish the principles of our party and consecrate ourselves anew to their triumph. We have but to put our trust in the people; we have but to keep in close touch with the people; we have but to hearken to the voice of the people, as it comes to us from every quarter; we have but to paint on our banners the sentiment the people have everywhere expressed at every election during the last three years—"Patriotism, protection and prosperity," to win another most glorious and decisive republican national victory.

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN.

The greatest names in American history are Washington and Lincoln. One is forever associated with the independence of the states and formation of the federal union; the other with universal freedom and the preservation of that union. Washington enforced the declaration of independence as against England; Lincoln proclaimed its fulfillment not only to a downtrodden race in America, but to all people for all time, who may seek the protection of our flag. These illustrious men achieved grander results for mankind within a single century—from 1775 to 1865—than any other men ever accomplished in all the years since first the flight of time began. Washington engaged in no ordinary revolution. With him it was not who should rule, but what should rule. He drew his sword, not for a change of rulers upon an established throne, but to establish a new government, which should acknowledge no throne but the tribune of the people. Lincoln accepted war to save the union, the safeguard of our liberties, and re-established it on "indestructible foundations" as forever "one and indivisible." To quote his own grand words:

"Now we are contending that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Each lived to accomplish his appointed task. Each received the unbounded gratitude of the people of his time, and each is held in great and ever increasing reverence by posterity. The fame of each will never die; it will grow with the ages, because it is based upon imperishable service to humanity—not to the people of a single generation or country, but to the whole human family, wherever scattered, forever.

The present generation knows Washington only from history, and by that alone can judge him. Lincoln we know by history also, but thousands are still living who participated in the great events in which he was leader and master. Many of his contemporaries survived him; some are here yet in almost every locality. So Lincoln is not far removed from us. Indeed, he may be said to be still known to the millions, not surrounded by the mists of antiquity nor by a halo of idolatry that is impenetrable.

He never was inaccessible to the people. Thousands carry with them yet the words which he spoke in their hearing; thousands remember the pressure of his hand, and I remember, as though it were but yesterday, and thousands of my comrades will recall, how, when he reviewed the Army of the Potomac, immediately after the battle of Antietam, his indescribably sad, thoughtful, far-seeing expression pierced every man's soul. Nobody could keep the people away from him, and when they came to him he would suffer no one to drive them back. So it is that an unusually large number of the American people came to know this great man, and that he is still so well remembered by them. It cannot be said that they are mistaken about him or that they misinterpreted his character and greatness.

LIVING MEN LINK HIM TO TODAY.

Men are still connected with the government who served during his entire administration. There are at least two senators, and perhaps twice as many representatives, who participated in his first inauguration; men who stood side by side with him in trying duties of his administration, and have been without interruption in one branch or another of the public service ever since. The Supreme Court of the United States still has among its members one whom Lincoln appointed, and so of other branches of the federal judiciary. His faithful private secretaries are still alive and have rendered posterity a great service in their history of Lincoln and his time. They have told the story of his life and public services with such entire frankness and fidelity as to exhibit to the world "the very innercourts of his soul."

This host of witnesses, without exception, agree as to the true nobil-

ity and intellectual greatness of Lincoln. All proudly claim for Lincoln the highest abilities and the most distinguished and self-sacrificing patriotism. Lincoln taught them, and has taught us, that no party or partisan can escape responsibility to the people; that no party advantage or presumed party advantage, should ever swerve us from the plain path of duty, which is ever the path of honor and distinction. He emphasized his words by his daily life and deeds. He showed to the world by his lofty example, as well as by precept and maxim, that there are times when the voice of partisanship should be hushed and that of patriotism only be heeded. He taught that a good service done for the country, even in aid of an unfriendly administration, brings to the men and the party who rise above the temptation of temporary partisan advantage a lasting gain in the respect and confidence of the people. He showed that such patriotic devotion is usually rewarded, not only with retention in power and the consciousness of duty well and bravely done, but with the gratification of beholding the blessings of relief and prosperity, not of a party or section, but of the whole country. This, he held, should be the first and great consideration of all public servants.

When Lincoln died a grateful people, moved by a common impulse, immediately placed him side by side with the immortal Washington, and unanimously proclaimed them the two greatest and best Americans. That verdict has not changed, and will not change, nor can we conceive how the historians of this or any age will ever determine what is so clearly a matter of pure personal opinion as to which of these noble men is entitled to greatest honor and homage from the people of America.

ULTIMATE TEST OF HIS GREATNESS.

A recent writer says: "The amazing growth Lincoln made in the esteem of his countrymen and the world while he was doing his great work has been paralleled by the increase of his fame in the years since he died." He might have added that, like every important event of his life, Lincoln's fame rests upon a severer test than that of any other American. Never in all the ages of men have the acts, words, motives —even thoughts—of any statesman been so scrutinized, analyzed, studied or speculated upon as his. Yet from all inquirers, without distinction as to party, church, section or country, from friend and from foe alike, comes the unanimous verdict that Abraham Lincoln must have no second place in American history, and that he will never be second to any in the reverent affections of the American people.

Says the gifted Henry Watterson, in a most beautiful, truthful and eloquent tribute to the great emancipator: "Born as lowly as the Son

of God, reared in penury and squalor, with no gleam of light nor fair surroundings, it was reserved for this strange being, late in life, without name or fame or seeming preparation, to be snatched from obscurity, raised to supreme command at a supreme moment, and intrusted with the destiny of a nation. Where did Shakespeare get his genius? Where did Mozart get his music? Whose hand smote the lyre of the Scottish plowman and staid the life of the German priest? God alone, and as surely as these were raised by God, inspired of God was Abraham Lincoln; and a thousand years hence no story, no tragedy, no epic poem, will be filled with greater wonder than that which tells of his life and death. If Lincoln was not inspired of God, then there is no such thing on earth as special Providence or the interposition of divine power in the affairs of men."

My fellow citizens, a noble manhood, nobly consecrated to man, never dies. The martyr to liberty, the emancipator of a race, the savior of the only free government among men, may be buried from human sight, but his deeds will live in human gratitude forever.

Great captains, with their guns and drums,
Disturb our judgment for the hour,
But at last silence comes;
These are all gone, and, standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame;
The kindly, earnest, brave, far-seeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Abraham Lincoln—Continued.

Politician—Assassination—Stories—Final Burial—Chronology

LINCOLN IN POLITICS.

The Hon. Henry S. Boutell, member of Congress from Illinois, residing in Chicago, north side, has just received documents which show an interesting story of the political side of Abraham Lincoln's career. They consist of a couple of letters that the famous war president wrote nearly half a century ago, when he was a country lawyer and thought a seat in the United States Senate would be the limit of his political aspirations.

Just after the national elections in the fall of 1854 it appeared that the democrats had lost control of the Illinois legislature. Lincoln thought he saw a chance to get into the United States Senate, and he began the campaign, which, although it ended in defeat at that time, continued to a climax in the series of great debates four years later between himself and Senator Stephen A. Douglas.

LINCOLN'S REPUTATION BROADENS.

That incident broadened the boundaries of Lincoln's reputation from the state to the nation and brought him a seat in the White House as recompense for the loss of a seat in the senate. T. J. Henderson was at that time a member of the Illinois State Senate. Later he was chosen to represent in congress for many years the district for which Congressman Reeves now sits.

To Representative Henderson Mr. Lincoln, in 1854, wrote the following letter asking for his vote for United States Senator:

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Nov. 27, 1854.—T. J. Henderson, Esq.—My Dear Sir: It has come round that a whig may by possibility be elected to the United States Senate, and I want the chance of being the man. You are a member of the legislature and have a vote to give. Think it over and see whether you can do better than to go for me.

"Write me at all events and let this be confidential. Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

There was another whig who "wanted the chance to be the man" and

was equally prompt in telling the Illinois legislators so. Representative Henderson wrote Mr. Lincoln a letter, in which he expressed himself as unwilling to make any promises for the present or to commit himself between Mr. Lincoln and his leading opponent for the whig nomination.

IN RESPONSE TO HENDERSON'S REPLY.

Mr. Henderson's letter to Mr. Lincoln brought forth the following reply:

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Dec. 15, 1854.—Dear Sir: Yours of the 11th was received last night, and for which I thank you. Of course I prefer myself to all others; yet it is neither in my heart nor my conscience to say I am any better man than Mr. Williams. We shall have a terrible struggle with our adversaries. They are desperate and bent on desperate deeds. I accidentally learned of one of the leaders here writing to a member south of here in about the following language: 'We are beaten. They have a clear majority of at least 9 on joint ballot. They OUT-NUMBER us, but we must OUTMANAGE them. Douglas must be sustained. We must elect a Nebraska United States Senator or elect none at all.' Similar letters, no doubt, are written to every Nebraska member. Be considering how we can best meet and foil and beat them. I send you by this mail a copy of my Peoria speech. You may have seen it before or you may not think it worth seeing now.

"Do not speak of the Nebraska letter mentioned above. I do not wish it to become public that I received such information. Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

DEMOCRATS HAD LOST.

Abraham Lincoln was right when he asserted that the democrats had lost the legislature. The whigs and the anti-Nebraska democrats together possessed a narrow majority on joint ballot over the Nebraska democrats, as the followers of Douglas were called. The state of Illinois had voted at the November election of 1854 on the sole issue of supporting or condemning the action of Senator Douglas in fathering and passing the repeal of the famous dicker between the slave states known as the Missouri compromise, and the people of Illinois had pronounced their disapproval of Senator Douglas' advocacy of the repeal, which was called the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

Lincoln secured the support of the majority of the whigs in the legislature and he led the whig vote for nine ballots, once coming within six votes of being elected United States Senator. At that point he became convinced that the supporters of Lyman Trumbull, who had just been elected to congress from the Belleville district as an anti-Nebraska

democrat, would never vote for a whig, and rather than allow the anti-Douglas factions to miss their opportunity to place a representative in the United States senate to neutralize Douglas there, Mr. Lincoln generously told his friends on the tenth ballot to vote for Congressman-elect Trumbull.

HOW TRUMBULL WAS ELECTED.

Lincoln's followers obeyed and Lyman Trumbull bore off the prize on the tenth ballot by the close vote of 51 to 47, the Douglas democrats voting for Governor Mattison. Archibald Williams, the whig opponent of Lincoln mentioned by Representative Henderson, later had coals of fire heaped upon his head by Lincoln. When the latter became president one of his first acts was to appoint Mr. Williams as United States district judge for the state of Kansas.

MURDER OF LINCOLN.

Johnson Brigham tells the story of the murder of Lincoln as follows in the Chicago *Record-Herald:*

Intense as is the indignation of this people, and of the world as well, over the "deed accursed" which resulted in the death of President McKinley, and deep as is the general sorrow over the nation's and the world's loss, happily there were no serious complications resultant therefrom, and consequently there was no consternation when the end came.

The killing of President Lincoln in the midst of the general rejoicing over peace, after four years of awful war, was to this people both a shock and a fierce menace. Though the war was over, the period of reconstruction was just ahead. President Lincoln had long borne the burden of a struggle unparalleled in magnitude. The burden had been lifted. The cause of the Union—his cause—had grandly triumphed. His rugged strength had overcome both ridicule and censure; his magnanimity had made his former foes his friends; his demonstrated brain power, his rare soul qualities, and his remarkable devotion to public duty had won for him the love of his people and the admiration of the onlooking world. To him the people of the North had turned for deliverance from the new and unmeasurable perils.

PEOPLE LEFT LEADERLESS.

Suddenly bereft of the one safe leader all trusted, when the shot was fired that left them leaderless, their first fierce indignation and deep grief left them with a sinking of heart over the awful possibilities of the situation.

Let me present in outline a memory picture of that horrible night of nights and the days of gloom which followed as that picture is brought

back to me by the recent memory-stirring tragedy—the accuracy of which outline I have tested by reference to letters then written by me.

On my way down Tenth street on the night of that fateful 14th of April I observed an unusual throng in front of Ford's Theater. My first intimation of the tragedy was a woman's exclamation: "Oh, it is terrible!"

"What has happened?" I asked.

"My God, boy!" exclaimed the woman; "haven't you heard? They've killed the President!"

Seeing a tall, broad-shouldered man gesticulating, I drew near. A late comer, who had heard only part of his story, said:

"Begin again and tell us all about it."

STORY OF THE TRAGEDY.

Stepping up on the curbstone, the man began: "Well, to begin at the beginning, I was sitting in the gallery right where I could see what was going on in the President's box. About 9 I saw him come in—him and his wife and some young couple I didn't recognize. When the audience saw him, such a hand-clapping and hurrahing you never heard. It stopped the play. The President bowed to the audience from the box and took his seat; then he turned and said something to his wife that made her smile, and then the play went on again."

"But how about the shooting?"

"I've just got to that. 'Twasn't long before I heard a pistol shot. First I thought it was part of the play; but when I noticed the actors looking toward the President's box I knew something had happened.

MRS. LINCOLN SCREAMED.

"Then I heard Mrs. Lincoln scream; and then I saw a man break away from the young man in the box and jump down onto the stage. Just as he jumped his spur caught in one of the flags and he fell. But he was on his feet again quicker'n a flash, and, turning toward the audience, he shouted something I couldn't quite understand; and then ran behind the scenes, limping as if he'd been hurt.

"There in the box sat the President, his head dropped forward as though he'd fainted; his wife trying to bring him to, and crying and moaning as if her heart would break.

"I rushed downstairs and into the dress circle. A man at the door tried to stop me, but I shook him off, and a minute more I was wedged into the crowd in front of the box door. Some one shouted, 'Gentlemen, stand back and give him fresh air,' and then he asked if any body had any stimulants. Then they carried the President out, across the street to Peterson's, yonder."

THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

"Could you see his face as they carried him out?"

"Yes, I was that close to him"—measuring the distance with his hands.

"What do you think? Is there any hope?"

Tears started from the man's eyes as he answered: "I don't think; I know."

Then some one asked: "Have they caught the villain yet?"

No one answered.

HUNTED FOR ASSASSIN.

"I believe I can find him, if the police can't," said the tall man, starting for the alley.

A score or more of us followed this born leader of men. We explored every shed, cellarway and passageway in the whole block; but, as the reader knows, the assassin was then well on his way to meet his awful fate.

Finally, abandoning our search, we took our stand, with hundreds of others, in front of the Peterson house. Every little while some one would appear at the door to answer the bell or send a messenger for something. Every time the door opened there was a general movement toward the doorsteps, but the movement was soon checked by the ominous shake of the head, which told us there was no hope.

On the Tuesday following the sad Good Friday the east room of the executive mansion, where lay the remains of the President, was thrown open to the public. All day a slow-moving line of mourners extended from the entrance far down the driveway and into the avenue.

NO SUGGESTION OF HORROR.

The serene expression on the pale face in the coffin gave no suggestion of the horror of that last moment of consciousness. I fancied there remained a trace of the smile with which the President had received our enthusiastic greeting four days before his death, on the occasion of his return from Richmond.

The funeral occurred the next day. I vividly recall the long procession slowly moving from the White House to the capitol, between dense masses of humanity, all strangely silent. I can still feel the impressive silence of the dimly lighted rotunda, relieved only by the shuffling of many feet as the line filed past the open casket.

But why should I attempt to narrow this world-including sorrow within the limits of the nation's capital? As your older readers sadly remember, along the way from Washington to Springfield the people gathered in an almost unbroken line, and the tolling of bells was well-

nigh continuous. Cities vied one with another in extraordinary honors paid the dead President. Great states, "as crape-veiled women standing," tearfully received the nation's dead and tenderly passed on the sacred trust. No echo of that memorable home-coming was lost on the listening world. And even now, after the lapse of nearly fourscore years, every return of spring brings sad memories of that black night and the gray days that followed.

A further account of the tragedy not found in Lincoln's biography has been furnished by a friend of Mr. William Withers, Jr.:

It is a fact familiar perhaps to a very few that Withers, Jr., was the leader of the orchestra of that theater on the night of the assassination, April 14, 1865, and prevented a frightful panic, although he was at the time unconscious of the important service he had rendered the audience. The story of Mr. Withers' experience of that night and the part he took in the proceedings have never been fully told. In the most reliable histories of the war covering the assassination, such as Raymond's, Drake's and Greeley's, Mr. Withers' name is not mentioned, and it has been through his modesty and diffidence that the story is unrecorded. Every reader of the *Herald,* old or young, is familiar with the fact that the president was shot at about a quarter past 10 o'clock, by John Wilkes Booth, the actor, while sitting in a private box witnessing a performance of "Our American Cousin." It is also well remembered that the day had been celebrated all over the country on account of the news flashed far and near that Lee had surrendered, and thus virtually ended the war of the rebellion. The cabinet had held a meeting that day, and at the close of the session, which had been remarkably harmonious, the President invited any member of his cabinet who felt so inclined to accompany him to the theater in honor of the events of the previous twenty-four hours; but it seems that none accepted the invitation. The President, Mrs. Lincoln, their son, a pupil of Mr. Withers, Major H. R. Rathbone, Senator Harris and his daughter, Miss Harris, made up the party. They occupied an upper box. When the orchestra heard that the President was to be there, one of the musicians, an Italian named Taltavullo, suggested to Mr. Withers that the orchestra flag, which was the property of the Italian, be used to decorate the front of the box, and it was accordingly raised. Mr. H. P. Phillips also composed a song for the occasion and handed it to Mr. Withers to set music to it. Mr. Withers composed a martial air, rehearsed the music with Miss Laura Keene, the leading lady, the understanding being that the song was to be sung at the close of the second act by Miss Keene, the company joining in the chorus. The words of this song have never been printed. They are as follows, a copy from an old scrap book, written by

Mr. Phillips, and now in Mr. Withers' possession, having been made for this purpose. The song is entitled—

HONOR TO OUR SOLDIERS.

Honor to our soldiers,
Who for their country toil
And fight the Union to preserve,
With blood defend its soil.
Cheered on by leaders whom they love.
They've fought with heart and hand
To make rebellion lose its sway
In this our native land.

CHORUS—Repeat first four lines.

Honor to our soldiers,
The nation's greatest pride,
Who 'neath the starry banner's folds
Have fought, have bled and died.
They're nature's noblest handiwork,
No king so proud as they—
God help the heroes of our land
And cheer them on their way!

Honor to our soldiers,
Their victories ne'er shall cease
Until our foes surrender
And bless our land with peace.
Our navy, too, shall have its fame,
Our flag shall ne'er be furled
Until our foes at home—abroad—
Shall feel we dare the world!

Mr. Withers had understood that this song should be sung at the close of the second act, but when the curtain was rung down he saw that the programme had been changed without consulting him. His story of what followed is this: As soon as the play had proceeded he went upon the stage, and, not seeing the stage manager, went to the prompter's desk at the wing, where Mr. J. B. Wright, the prompter, was on duty. The "governor," or gas apparatus, was in close proximity to Mr. Wright's desk. The cover of this governor was open, and

Edward Spangler, assistant stage carpenter, and one of the conspirators, was standing beside it. Mr. Withers said, "Spangler, step away a moment, I want to speak to Mr. Wright." Spangler did not move. An angry frown overspread his face, and Mr. Withers peremptorily ordered him to go to his position as scene shifter. He started away muttering something, which Mr. Withers did not hear, and to which he paid no attention at the time. He inquired of Mr. Wright why the song had not been sung, and Wright said that the programme had been changed so as to have the piece brought in at the close of the performance. "Go into the orchestra just before the finish," said Mr. Wright, "and get your instruments in tune, and we will make the song the finale." Mr. Withers said the effect would be lost by this proceeding, and, turning down the cover of the "governor," he partly sat down upon it, and suggested that the audience at the finish would begin to move and spoil the piece, winding up the matter by telling Mr. Wright that, if produced at all, the song must be sung during the play. Just then the whistle blew for change of scene, and Spangler had to attend to the shifting. Mr. Withers then started down past the wings to a stairway leading under the stage. Just as he was in the act of stepping down the first step he heard a pistol shot. Surprised at the report, knowing that there was no shooting in the play, he stopped and looked toward the proscenium.

AN ENCOUNTER WITH BOOTH.

At that instant Booth dashed into the passageway with a dagger in his hand. Withers was standing directly in line with the stage door or private entrance. His first thought was that Booth was looking for the man who had fired the shot; but the next instant the madman was upon him, thrusting at him with the dagger. The point of the weapon cut two holes in the coat worn by the musician, one on the back of the neck and the other on the right shoulder, going through all the clothing and through the skin. In the struggle Mr. Withers was knocked down and badly bruised, and Booth escaped through the private door. Before Mr. Withers could get upon his feet Harry Hawke, the actor, came rushing through the passageway after Booth, and fell over the prostrate form of Mr. Withers. It was then for the first time that the musician learned what had happened. He still has the coat he wore on that memorable occasion. It is an evening dress coat of blue-black broadcloth. He exhibited it to the reporter, put it on, and described how Booth attacked him and the exact position he was in when the thrusts were made. The only words uttered by Booth were, "Get out of my way! get out of my way, or I'll kill you!"

The flag which has a place in history was in the possession of Mr. Withers for a long time, but was subsequently given to its owner, who resided in Memphis, and is now, Mr. Withers believes, in Washington. The flag, it will be remembered, was torn by Booth's spur, which caught in it as he jumped from the box to the stage, and it was this accident to the assassin that caused his leg to be broken.

Edward Spangler died on the 19th of February, 1874, at the residence of Dr. Mudd, of Baltimore, a co-conspirator, with whom he had suffered imprisonment. Before his death he made a confession, which has been communicated to Mr. Withers, in effect that the presence of the musician at the "governor" prevented a fearful panic. He (Spangler) was hovering around the instrument with the intention of turning off the gas in the auditorium the moment Booth landed on the stage. The cover was up to facilitate that operation, and had he not been ordered away by Mr. Withers, who turned the cover down to sit upon it, the gas would have been turned off, and nobody would have known to a certainty who assassinated the president. Booth was not recognized at the time of his leap by the audience; but Miss Keene, who stood at the wings, recognized him, and shouted to the audience, "It's John Wilkes Booth!" At that time he was struggling with Mr. Withers at the rear of the stage. The turning off of the gas at the proper time, Mr. Withers believes, would have allowed the assassin to escape unrecognized, and would have led to further tragic results.

NEW STORIES OF LINCOLN.

REMINISCENCES MISSED BY HIS BIOGRAPHERS GATHERED IN THE "OLD SALEM" REGION.

Uncle Henry Sears, Aunt Vashti, and other "old settlers" of the Old Salem region, delight in giving their personal recollections of Abraham Lincoln, while that "rather gawkish and awkward youth was keeping store on the banks of the Sangamon," and relate some recollections that have failed to reach any of Mr. Lincoln's biographers.

LINCOLN A WRESTLER.

The late Jesse Baker said: "The new clerk in the Salem store drew much attention from the very first. His striking, awkward and generally peculiar appearance advertised the store round about, and drew many customers, who never quit trading there as long as young Abe Lincoln clerked in the establishment. He gave good weight; he was chock full of accommodation, and he wasn't a 'smart Aleck'. A large majority of the people, after making his acquaintance, said: 'He

has a heart as big as a flour barrel and a head full of the best kind of brains.' All liked him excepting the few rowdies of Clary's Grove and the boss bully, Hickey. Hickey was attracted to the store about four days after the new clerk's arrival. Boss Hickey took his measure and forthwith bantered him for a wrestle. Lincoln pleasantly informed the intruding ruffian that he would rather be excused, as he didn't feel like dirtying his fine clothes. Hickey, however, harped away on his single-tuned lyre until young Abe consented to 'wrestle in a playful way.' Mr. Baker watched the store and viewed the conflict. The performers shook hands, clinched, and fell among a luxuriant growth of dog-fennel and smart-weeds. Hickey foamed and tried to choke Lincoln, who repelled that charge by rubbing the under fellow's face with a bunch of smart-weeds. It made him howl; the smarting quite vanquished him; he cried 'Enough,' and Lincoln calmly arose from his game, and that was the only fight he ever fought while in the Sangamon country. Hickey quit drinking, joined the church, and solemnly confessed his many sins at the prayer meetings."

LINCOLN'S DOG.

Uncle Baker said that he subsequently, when Lincoln had become a surveyor, sometimes carried the chain for him, and distinctly remembered being along with him on Quiver creek in Mason county during the presidential race between Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson. Lincoln was a strong Whig, while the other surveyor was a fierce Democrat. Each owned a dog. Lincoln's dog was named Clay, while the other's title was Jackson. While camping near Simmons' mill the dogs treed a coon. The surveyors betted $5 on their respective curs. Lincoln hastily climbed the tree on a rude "Indian ladder," and crawling on the coon limb he shook it with such force that it broke, throwing the varmint and himself among the dogs. Young Abe sprained his ankle, but Clay mopped the ground with the coon and rejoiced all over with his tail, for his master had won the $5.

ANN RUTLEDGE.

Uncle Henry Sears and his wife, Aunt Vashti, say that they were well acquainted with storekeeper Lincoln and his lady-love, Ann Rutledge. They attended her funeral, and think that such a nice girl as Ann was deserves a handsome tombstone. "Young Lincoln took her death awful hard," they say. He strolled moodily around the neighborhood for the next three or four weeks, humming sad songs, and writing them with chalk on fences and barns. It was generally feared that the death of Ann Rutledge would drive him insane.

LINCOLN IN A MOCK TRIAL.

About six of the distressed youth's sympathizing friends coaxed him to accompany them to Springfield, where other events chased away much of his grief and turned him towards the study and practice of law. There was one "dressy" man among the six jovial Salemites. He purchased a broadcloth coat before leaving Springfield for home, which was the first coat of that cloth seen in old Salem. While fooling with a group around a burning candle the dandy's broadcloth coat came in contact with the flame, burning quite a hole in the much-talked-about garment. The belligerent applejack and other aggravating circumstances would have caused a lively fist fight then and there if young Lincoln hadn't effected a satisfactory compromise. It was agreed to run the dispute through the Salem justice mill, that Lincoln should plead the coat-owner's and coat-burners' sides of the case, and that the winner should pay the costs and drinks for all present in court. The mock court opened twenty minutes after the interested parties reached Salem. The mill was crowded with eager spectators before the case was prosecuted and defended by the lawyer for each side. The rustics marveled much at Lincoln's knowledge of law, his common sense, his impregnable logic, and his serio-comic stories. He gained the case for both his clients, applejack was supplied the lot, and everybody present wondered and asked young Lincoln: "Why don't you become a lawyer?" He answered their question by becoming one.

FINAL REMOVAL OF THE BODY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

For the thirteenth time the body of Abraham Lincoln was removed at Springfield, Illinois, September 26, 1901. The casket containing the remains now lies imbedded in an iron cage within a solid block of cement beneath the monument in Oak Ridge Cemetery.

The casket was opened and eighteen persons were permitted to look upon the features of the great emancipator before the body was lowered to what is now believed to be its last resting place. Governor Yates, who was out of the State, was represented on the Board of Trustees of the National Lincoln Monument by Acting Governor John J. Brenholt, of Alton.

Those who were permitted to look upon the features of the dead were Adjutant General J. N. Reece, Major E. S. Johnson, custodian of the monument; Joseph P. Lindley, Clinton L. Conkling, George N. Black, secretary of the National Lincoln Monument Association; Acting Governor Brenholt, Captain J. H. Freeman, M. O. Williamson, Colonel J. S. Culver, the contractor who reconstructed the monument; F. K.

Whittemore, J. S. McCullough, Jacob Thompson, second assistant superintendent of public instruction; B. D. Monroe, assistant attorney general; Mrs. Alfred Bayliss, Mrs. E. S. Johnson, and the two plumbers who opened the casket.

IDENTIFICATION IS POSITIVE.

The identification of the remains was positive. The features are said to have been extremely pallid, and it is said that this condition was due to a film that has crept over the face. The beard could be plainly seen and the chin was prominent, while the hair had begun to fall out. The headrest had decayed, letting the head fall back.

The shirt front was well preserved, as was also the black silk stock that Lincoln wore about his neck. The rest of the clothing had commenced to fall to pieces.

BURIAL BENEATH MASONRY.

At 11:45 of the above date the wooden box containing the casket was carried from the north side of the monument to Memorial Hall on the south side. Six laborers performed this duty. An hour later, after identification had been made, the casket was taken back to the north side of the monument and then lowered to the vault beneath. Workmen then began the task of securing the casket under the mass of masonry.

Newspaper men were excluded from Memorial Hall when the casket was opened and the greatest secrecy was maintained. Even the glass in the single door opening into the room was covered with paper to guard against the intrusion of curious eyes. The two plumbers who opened the metallic casket were Leon P. Hopkins, of Springfield, who performed the same duty seventeen years ago, and Charles L. Willey, also of Springfield.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF TRANSFER.

The following official report of the transfer was given to the public this afternoon by Acting Governor Brenholt:

"At a meeting of the commissioners of the Lincoln monument held this day, in pursuance of a call by Acting Governor Brenholt, at the Memorial Hall of the monument, it was agreed that the casket of Abraham Lincoln be opened for identification prior to placing the casket in the permanent vault.

"In the presence of several members of the Lincoln Guard of Honor the casket was opened and the remains viewed by the persons present and fully identified. It was found that the remains were in a good state of preservation. After which the casket was resealed and consigned in our presence to the place prepared for the same in the monument.

"It was agreed that this statement be given to the public through the press, together with the certificate of the Lincoln Guard of Honor, which is subjoined herewith.

"JOHN J. BRENHOLT,
"Acting Governor.
"M. O. WILLIAMSON,
"Treasurer.
"JOS. H. FREEMAN,
"Assistant State Superintendent."

CERTIFICATE OF IDENTIFICATION.

"We, the undersigned, do hereby certify that on this twenty-sixth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and one, we were present at the Lincoln monument in Oak Ridge Cemetery at Springfield, in the State of Illinois, and by request of the commissioners of the Lincoln monument, acting in their official capacity, under their appointment, by virtue of an act of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, we personally viewed the remains of Abraham Lincoln, the casket having been opened for that purpose by direction of said commissioners.

"We further certify that the remains so viewed by us are in fact those of Abraham Lincoln; that we saw the same before they were first laid to rest; that we were each personally present at the same place on the fourteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and eighty-seven, and then viewed the remains, and we again identify them as the same.

"We further certify that we were present at the place and day first mentioned, and saw the same casket containing these sacred remains placed in their final resting place in the Lincoln monument, under the direction of said commissioners.

"GEORGE N. BLACK,
"Secretary
and Member of the National Lincoln Monument Association.
"J. N. REECE,
"EDWARD S. JOHNSON,
"JOSEPH P. LINDLEY,
"CLINTON L. CONKLING,
"Members of the Lincoln Guard of Honor."

CHRONOLOGY OF LINCOLN'S LIFE.

Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1809, in the county of LaRue, in the state of Kentucky.

He first attended school at Little Pidgeon Creek in the winter of 1819.

Three or four years later he attended Crawford's school in the same locality.

In 1826 he received his last schooling under the tuition of Mr. Swaney. To reach this "institution of learning," he walked four miles and a half each way.

Later, as a "hired boy," he taught himself as best he could with his rude surroundings, often "siphering" on a wooden fire shovel or anything else that came in his way.

His reading was very limited, being confined to two or three books, but fortunately he had access to the great fountain of Biblical literature.

Obtaining access to the "Revised Statutes of Indiana," which could not be loaned from the constable's office, he early laid the foundation for legal study.

In 1831, he went to New Orleans on a flat-boat, with a little cargo of pork, hogs and corn. It was here that he first saw some of the abominations of slavery and the slave trade. The workings of the system greatly depressed him, and drew from him the emphatic and almost prophetic exclamation, *"If I ever get a chance to hit slavery, I'll hit it hard."*

It was after his return from this trip that he found an English grammar, and mastered it by the light of pine knots during the long winter evenings.

The Black Hawk war broke out in 1832, and Lincoln enlisted. Although without military experience, his personal popularity made him captain of his company.

After the war was over he became a candidate for the state legislature, and although he was defeated, the campaign was of great service to him in the way of experience.

He began the study of law with borrowed books, and put his own knowledge into practice by drawing up legal papers, and also conducting small cases without remuneration.

Many volumes pertaining to the sciences now found their way into his hands, and also some of the standard works of literature.

He then sought and obtained the post of deputy surveyor of Sangamon county, and in this work he became an expert. He was often sought for as a referee when trouble arose concerning boundary lines, etc.

From 1833 to 1836 he was the postmaster of New Salem, having received the appointment as a Jackson democrat.

It was during this time he again became a candidate for the legislature. His campaign was personally conducted, and this time he was the victorious candidate.

It was at this session of the legislature that he met his great opponent, Stephen A. Douglas. In time, he fully accorded him the title of "The Little Giant."

In August of 1835, Lincoln met with a terrible loss, being no less than the death of Ann Rutledge, the beautiful girl to whom he was betrothed. Nearly thirty years afterward he spoke lovingly of her to an old friend. "The death of this fair girl," said Mr. Herndon, "shattered Lincoln's happiness. He threw off his infinite sorrow only by leaping wildly into the political arena."

In 1836 he was again a candidate for the legislature. He was self-nominated, for this was before the days of caucuses and conventions. In the New Salem Journal he announced his platform, which contained a suffrage plank to the effect that all men and women who either bore arms, or paid taxes, should be allowed to vote.

Lincoln was elected in triumph. Sangamon county, which had usually gone democratic, voting the whig ticket by more than four hundred majority.

In 1837 Mr. Lincoln moved to Springfield, where his active life as a lawyer began, the state capital having been moved about that time from Vandalia.

In November of 1823 he was married to Miss Mary Todd.

Mr. Lincoln was first elected to congress in 1846.

One year later he took his seat as a member of the Thirtieth Congress. Other notable members at this time were Ex-President John Quincy Adams, Andrew Johnson, Alex. H. Stephens, besides Robert Toombs, Robert B. Rhett and others. In the senate were Daniel Webster, Simon Cameron, Lewis Cass, John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis.

At the close of his congressional services in 1849, Mr. Lincoln returned to Springfield and resumed the practice of law, although his fees were considered by his legal brethren "ridiculously small."

During the contest in Kansas, in 1855, Lincoln's views on the subject of slavery were fully expressed in a radical letter to Mr. Speed.

In 1858 Lincoln held his notable debates with Stephen A. Douglas.

In 1860 Abraham Lincoln received the nomination of the republican party for the Presidency; Stephen A. Douglas was the nominee of the democratic party and these two prominent men were again rivals.

Threatening times succeeded his election with the whole country aroused by threats of secession.

In March of 1861 he was inaugurated amidst the most ominous conditions that a new president was ever called upon to face.

He delivered an inaugural address which for wisdom and consistency has never been surpassed.

Following the fall of Fort Sumter, Mr. Lincoln issued, on the 15th day of April, a call for 75,000 volunteers.

Four days later he issued a proclamation for the blockade of southern ports.

In 1862 he met with the terrible loss by death of his son Willie. In the midst of this great trial his thoughts reverted to his own mother, whom he lost when a child. "I remember her prayers," he said, "they have always followed me—they have clung to me all my life."

During the long war he was everywhere busy doing everything possible for the comfort of the soldiers, especially the sick and wounded.

On January 1, 1863, the emancipation proclamation was issued.

Following logically the policy of the emancipation act, he began the experiment of introducing colored troops into the armies of the United States.

In 1864 Abraham Lincoln was again elected President of the United States.

About the middle of August, 1864, an attempt was made upon Lincoln's life one evening as he was riding back from the Soldiers' Home. The bullet of the would-be assassin passed through the silk hat which the President wore, but at his request the matter was kept quiet.

On March 4, 1865, Mr. Lincoln was again inaugurated as President of the United States.

The great rebellion was brought to a successful close with great rejoicing over General Lee's surrender.

On the afternoon before his death he signed a pardon for a soldier who was under a death sentence. This act of mercy was his last official order.

On the 14th of April he fell by the hand of an assassin and the nation was in mourning.

CHAPTER XXV.

James A. Garfield.

McKinley's Sketch of His Life.

"*Mr. Speaker:*—Complying with an act of congress passed July, 1864, inviting each of the states of the Union to present to National Statuary Hall the statues of two of its deceased citizens 'illustrious of their heroic renown, or distinguished by civic or military services' worthy of national commemoration, Ohio brings her first contribution in the marble statue of James Abram Garfield. There were other citizens of Ohio earlier associated with the history and progress of the state and illustrious in the nation's annals who might have been fitly chosen for this exalted honor. Governors, United States senators, members of the supreme judiciary of the nation, closely identified with the growth and greatness of the state, who fill a large space in their country's history; soldiers of high achievement in the earlier and later wars of the Republic; cabinet ministers, trusted associates of the martyred Lincoln, who had developed matchless qualities and accomplished masterly results in the nation's supreme crisis; but from the roll of illustrious names the unanimous voice of Ohio called the youngest and latest of her historic dead, the scholar, the soldier, the national representative, the United States senator-elect, the president of the people, the upright citizen, and the designation is everywhere received with approval and acclaim.

"By the action of the authorities of the state he loved so well and served so long, and now, by the action of the national congress in which he was so long a conspicuous figure, he keeps company to-day with 'the immortal circle' in the old Hall of Representatives, which he was wont to call the 'Third House,' where his strong features and majestic form, represented in marble, will attract the homage of the present and succeeding generations, as in life his great character and commanding qualities earned the admiration of the citizens of his own state and the nation at large, while the lessons of his life and the teachings of his broad mind will be cherished and remembered when marble and statues have crumbled to decay.

"James A. Garfield was born on the 19th day of November, 1831, in Orange, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, and died at Elberon, in the state of

New Jersey, on the 19th day of September, 1881. His boyhood and youth differed little from others of his own time. His parents were very poor. He worked from an early age, like most boys of that period. He was neither ashamed nor afraid of manual labor, and engaged in it resolutely for the means to maintain and educate himself. He entered Williams College, in the state of Massachusetts, in 1854, and graduated with honor two years later, when he assumed charge of Hiram College in his own state.

"In 1859 he was elected to the senate of Ohio, being its youngest member. Strong men were his associates in that body, men who have since held high stations in the public service. Some of them were his colleagues here. In this, his first political office, he displayed a high order of ability, and developed some of the great qualities which afterward distinguished his illustrious career.

"In August, 1861, he entered the Union army, and in September following was commissioned colonel of the Forty-second Ohio Infantry Volunteers. He was promoted successively brigadier and major-general of the United States Volunteers, and while yet in the army was elected to congress, remaining in the field more than a year after his election, and resigning only in time to take his seat in the house, December 7, 1863. His military service secured him his first national prominence. He showed himself competent to command in the field, although without previous training. He could plan battles and fight them successfully. As an officer, he was exceptionally popular, beloved by his men, many of whom were his former students, respected and honored by his superiors in rank, and his martial qualities and gallant behavior were more than once commended in general orders and rewarded by the government with well-merited promotion.

"He brought to this wide range of subjects vast learning and comprehensive judgment. He enlightened and strengthened every cause he advocated. Great in dealing with them all, dull and commonplace in none, but to me he was the strongest, broadest, and bravest when he spoke for honest money, the fulfillment of the nation's promises, the resumption of specie payments, and the maintenance of the public faith. He contributed his share, in full measure, to secure national honesty and preserve inviolate our national honor. None did more, few, if any, so much, to bring the government back to a sound, stable, and constitutional money. He was a very giant in those memorable struggles, and it required upon his part the exercise of the highest courage. A considerable element of his party was against him, notably in his own state and some parts of his congressional district. The mad passion of inflation and irredeemable currency was sweeping through the West, with

the greatest fury in his own state. He was assailed for his convictions, and was threatened with defeat. He was the special target of the hate and prejudice of those who stood against the honest fulfillment of national obligations. In a letter to a friend on New Year's eve, 1867-'68, he wrote:

" 'I have just returned from a tedious trip to Ashtabula, where I made a two hours' speech on finance, and when I came home, came through a storm of paper-money denunciation in Cleveland, only to find on my arrival here a sixteen-page letter, full of alarm and prophecy of my political ruin for my opinions on the currency.'

"To the same friend he wrote in 1878:

" 'On the whole it is probable I will stand again for the house. I am not sure, however, but the Nineteenth district will go back upon me upon the silver question. If they do, I shall count it an honorable discharge.'

"These and more of the same tenor, which I might produce from his correspondence, show the extreme peril attending his position upon the currency and silver questions, but he never flinched, he never wavered; he faced all the dangers, assumed all the risks, voting and speaking for what he believed would secure the highest good. He stood at the forefront, with the waves of an adverse popular sentiment beating against him, threatening his political ruin, fearlessly contending for sound principles of finance against public clamor and a time-serving policy. To me his greatest effort was made on this floor in the Fifty-fifth congress, from his old seat yonder near the center aisle. He was at his best. He rose to the highest requirements of the subject and the occasion. His mind and soul were absorbed with his topic. He felt the full responsibility of his position and the necessity of averting a policy (the abandonment of specie resumption) which he believed would be disastrous to the highest interests of the country. Unfriendly criticism seemed only to give him breadth of contemplation and boldness and force of utterance.

"In General Garfield, as in Lincoln and Grant, we find the best representation of the possibilities of American life. Boy and man, he typifies American youth and manhood, and illustrates the beneficence and glory of our free institutions. His early struggles for an education, his self-support, his 'lack of means,' his youthful yearnings, find a prototype in every city, village, and hamlet of the land.

"His broad and benevolent nature made him the friend of all mankind. He loved the young men of the country, and drew them to him by the thoughtful concern with which he regarded them. He was generous in his helpfulness to all, and to his encouragement and words of cheer many are indebted for much of their success in life. In personal character he was clean and without reproach. As a citizen, he loved his

country and her institutions, and was proud of her progress and prosperity. As a scholar and a man of letters, he took high rank. As an orator, he was exceptionally strong and gifted. As a soldier, he stood abreast with the bravest and best of the citizen soldiery of the Republic. As a legislator, his most enduring testimonial will be found in the records of congress and the statutes of his country. As president, he displayed moderation and wisdom, with executive ability, which gave the highest assurance of a most successful and illustrious administration.

"Mr. Speaker, another place of great honor we fill to-day. Nobly and worthily is it filled. Garfield, whose eloquent words I have just pronounced, has joined Winthrop and Adams, and the other illustrious ones, as one of 'the elect of the states,' peopling yonder venerable and beautiful hall. He receives his high credentials from the hands of the state which has withheld from him none of her honors, and history will ratify the choice. We add another to the immortal membership. Another enters 'the sacred circle.' In silent eloquence from the 'American Pantheon' another speaks, whose life-work, with its treasures of wisdom, its wealth of achievement, and its priceless memories, will remain to us and our descendants a precious legacy forever and forever."—*Accepting the statue of Garfield, presented by the State of Ohio, House of Representatives, January 19, 1886.*

GARFIELD IN THE CIVIL WAR.

When the Civil War broke out Garfield offered his services to his country and they were at once accepted. He began his new life as lieutenant-colonel, but of the art and science of war he knew little.

It was probably the only office he ever accepted without suitable qualifications. But he set himself to learn. With saw and plane he fashioned whole armies out of maple blocks, and with these wooden-headed, but thoroughly manageable, soldiers he mastered the whole range of infantry tactics.

Garfield was now thirty years of age. His regiment; the Forty-second Ohio, was ready for the field. Owing to Garfield's constant training, it had the reputation of being the best drilled regiment in Ohio, and in recognition of his faithful services he was made a full colonel.

Orders came to report to Buell at Louisville. The regiment was to go for its baptism of fire. As Garfield took leave of his mother she quietly and patriotically said:

"Go, my son; your life belongs to your country."

The confederate general, Humphrey Marshall, was moving in on eastern Kentucky. Buell laid the situation before Garfield and said:

McKINLEY RESIDENCE, CANTON, OHIO

"Now, if you were in command of this sub-district, what would you do? Report your answer here at nine o'clock to-morrow morning."

Garfield studied the situation. At nine o'clock he laid his plan before Buell, whose skilled eye mastered it in a moment. He was satisfied.

"All right," he said, "proceed with the least possible delay, to the mouth of the Sandy, and move with your force in that vicinity up that river. Drive the enemy back or cut him off. I must commit all matters of detail, Colonel, to your discretion."

Garfield had fifteen hundred men. Marshall had forty-six hundred, and they were entrenched.

Three roads led out from Garfield's headquarters to where the enemy lay. Strategy must be made to make up for lack of men.

Bradley Brown, a man Garfield had known on the Ohio canal, had been brought in by the pickets. He asked to see the colonel.

Garfield received him, and said:

"What, is this Brown; are you a rebel?"

"Yes," said the visitor, "I belong to Marshall's force, and I've come straight from him to spy on your army."

"Well, you have a queer way of going about it," said Garfield.

"Well, you see, when I heard that you was in command down here, I determined, for old times' sake, to help ye."

"I advise you to go back to Marshall," said Garfield, "and tell him all about my strength and intended movements."

"But how kin I? I don't know a thing about it."

"Guess," said Garfield.

"You'd orter have ten thousand men to do anything against Marshall, I reckon."

"That will do for a guess," said Garfield. "Now, tell Marshall I shall attack in about ten days."

Brown did as Garfield suggested, and Marshall awaited an attack in force. Garfield sent a detachment along each of the three roads, strong enough to drive in Marshall's outposts.

One after another these Confederate pickets came in to camp and reported that the Yankees were coming in large numbers. Marshall was puzzled. He did not know where to look for the attack, and, in his dilemma, withdrew with his whole force. Garfield quietly took possession.

The whole thing was a huge practical joke; but one which the enemy would not appreciate.

Garfield had showed himself a strategist of the first order. He had

executed a plan that required boldness and dash, and had done himself the greatest credit.

Garfield had gained a great advantage, but it must be followed up, despite the odds.

Marshall took a new position on a semi-circular hill at the forks of Middle Creek. It was well chosen and supported by twelve pieces of artillery. But Garfield had been sent to cut Marshall off, or drive him out, and he prepared for the attack.

Up one spur of the mountain he sent a detachment of Hiram College boys. Garfield on a rocky height watched the tide of battle. He saw that it was unequal, and that they would lose the hill if not supported.

Instantly he sent five hundred men under Major Pardee to the rescue. Then turning to his staff, he asked:

"Who will volunteer to carry the other mountain?"

Colonel Munroe quickly stood forward.

"Go in, then," cries Garfield, "and give them Hail Columbia!"

From noon till dark the eleven hundred men under Garfield contended against overpowering odds. Alternate hopes and fears filled the heart of the Union commander.

Suddenly a starry banner was seen waving over an advancing host. It was Selden with reinforcements. Panic seized the enemy. The eleven hundred were fired by new energy, and with a final charge the day was won.

Shortly after dark a bright light blazed up behind the hill of battle. It was the Confederate general's last fire. In it he consumed everything that would hinder flight or be of value to his foe, and by the light started with his troops for Pound Gap.

Military writers have awarded Garfield great praise for the campaign. It was well planned and daringly executed. The victory at Middle Creek over an entrenched foe four times the number of his own is a feat almost unparalleled in the history of the war.

The little army was victorious, but it had less than three days' supply of provisions, and the roads were impassable from mud. There was the river; but it was swollen with rain.

What was to be done?

Garfield asked the advice of the ex-canalman, Brown, who had again sought Garfield from Marshall's camp.

"It's which and t'other, General Jim," he said, "starvin' or drownin'. I'd ruther drown 'n starve. So give the word, and, dead or alive, I'll git down the river."

Garfield gave the word; but went with him on the perilous voyage. At the mouth of the river he found and took possession of a little

steamer in the service of the quartermaster. She was loaded with provisions and headed up the stream.

"We cannot make it," said the captain. But Garfield ordered the chicken-hearted fellow away and himself took the helm.

The river surged and boiled. With every turn of the wheel the boat trembled from stem to stern. Three miles an hour was all they could make with all steam on.

At night the captain begged to tie up till morning, but Brown cried out:

"Put her ahead, General Jim," and he drove her on through the darkness. All night, all the next day and all the following night they struggled with the furious tide.

The waiting men were wild with joy as the boat rounded into view of the Union camp. The one-time canal boy had saved the army from starvation. He had risked his life a dozen times, and but for his early experience on the Evening Star he would never have been able to bring the steamer up the foaming river.

Of the whole forty-eight hours spent in climbing the Big Sandy, Garfield had been absent from the wheel but eight hours.

He was formed for a soldier's idol.

Marshall disappeared in a shower of ridicule and sarcasm from both sides. Garfield was made brigadier-general.

The fortunes of war finally found him on that field of blood, glory and disaster at Chickamauga. Seventy thousand Confederates and fifty-five thousand Federal soldiers were massed against each other.

It is said Garfield wrote every order on that field except that fatal one to Wood. That order lost the battle on the right. McCook's whole corps was fleeing, a horde of panic-stricken, frightened soldiers, back towards Chattanooga.

A tramping flood of human beings, reft of reason, caught the general and chief-of-staff in its rush. Garfield, dismounted, with his figure towering above the surging mass, snatched the colors from the fleeing standard-bearer.

The general hastily planted the staff in the ground. Seizing men to the right and left he faced them about and formed the nucleus of a stand. His ringing appeals made no impression on the dead ears of the unhearing men, reft of all human attributes save fear.

A panic is a disease which nothing can stay. His exertions were vain. The moment he took his hands from a man he fled. The maddened crowd swept on.

Garfield turned away to where the thunder of guns proclaimed the heart of the battle to beat fiercest. Almost alone he reached Thomas;

informed him how he could withdraw his right, form a new line and meet Longstreet.

Thomas, the army, and its honor, were saved. As night closed on that awful day, with the warm stream of blood from the ghastly wounded and recently killed rising from the burdened earth, Garfield still stood personally directing the loading and pointing of a battery that sent its shot crashing after the retiring foe. Thus closed the battle of Chickamauga.

What was left of the Union army was left in possession of the field. Garfield hurried to Washington with dispatches.

On his arrival he found himself a full major-general of volunteers —"for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Chickamauga."

CHRONOLOGICAL EVENTS OF GARFIELD'S LIFE.

Was born in Orange, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, 19th of November, 1831.

Went to school in a log hut at three years of age.

At ten years of age he was accustomed to manual labor.

By the time he was fourteen, young Garfield had a fair knowledge of arithmetic and grammar.

In 1848 he went to Cleveland and proposed to ship as a sailor on board a lake schooner, but became a canal boy and soon secured promotion from the tow path to the boat.

During the winter of 1849-50 he attended the Geauga seminary, at Chester, Ohio, about ten miles from his home.

He was converted under the instructions of a Campbellite preacher, was baptized and received into that denomination.

In 1851 he entered the Hiram Eclectic Institute (now Hiram College), at Hiram, Portage county, Ohio.

Entering Williams college in the autumn of 1854, he was duly graduated with the highest honors in the class of 1856.

On his return to Ohio, in 1856, he resumed his place as a teacher of Latin and Greek at Hiram institute, and the next year, 1857, being then only twenty-six years of age, he was made its president.

Without solicitation or thought on his part, in 1859 he was sent to represent the counties of Summit and Portage in the senate of Ohio.

In August, 1861, Governor William Dennison commissioned him lieutenant-colonel in the Forty-second Regiment of Ohio Volunteers.

Promoted to the command of this regiment, he drilled it into military efficiency while waiting orders to the front.

In December, 1861, he reported to Gen. Buell, in Louisville, Ky.; the general was so impressed by the soldierly condition of the regiment that

he gave Col. Garfield a brigade and assigned him the difficult task of driving the Confederate general, Humphrey Marshall, from eastern Kentucky.

Gen. Garfield was thirty-two years old when he entered the Thirty-eighth congress, 1863-1864.

In the Thirty-ninth congress, 1865, he was changed, at his own request, from the committee on military affairs to the ways and means committee.

In the Fortieth congress (1867) he was restored to his old committee on military affairs, and made its chairman.

In 1876, Gen. Garfield went to New Orleans at President Grant's request, in company with Senators Sherman and Matthews and other republicans, to watch the counting of the Louisiana vote.

In the Forty-first congress a new committee—that on banking and currency—was created, and Garfield was very properly made its chairman.

In the Forty-second congress he was chairman of the committee on appropriations.

In the Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth (1879), and Forty-sixth congresses (1880), (the house being democratic), he was assigned a place on the committee of ways and means.

In June, 1880, the republican convention to nominate a successor to President Hayes was held in Chicago, and to it came Garfield, naturally, at the head of the Ohio delegation.

He received his nomination the 8th of June, 1880. Gen. Garfield left the convention and accepted the nomination by letter.

In a moment of special exultation on the morning of July 2, 1881, he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker named Guiteau. He lingered until September 15, 1881, when symptoms of blood poisoning appeared, and after a few hours of unconsciousness he died peacefully on September 19, 1881.

DEATHBED SCENES OF PRESIDENTS LINCOLN AND GARFIELD CONTRASTED.

The deathbed scenes of President Lincoln and President Garfield bore little similarity to each other. Mr. Lincoln received a brain wound, the fatal ball lodging under the right eye, after having entered the skull in the rear. Had John Wilkes Booth diagramed the skull before he fired and determined where he would produce certain, painless death, he could not have more accurately ended Mr. Lincoln's career than he did. The President never knew that he was shot; never knew what hand dealt him the blow; never suffered during the last nine hours prior to his death.

He was shot in Ford's Theater, Washington, April 14, 1865, about 10 o'clock at night. Laura Keene was the particular star upon the stage, and she was presenting "Our American Cousin." When the shot was fired by Booth President Lincoln's head fell forward on the cushioned rail of the theater box. Mrs. Lincoln and others bent over him. His lips were moving and there was a twitching of the hands, but no speech. He was picked up in the bright playhouse, now filled with horror-stricken people, and stretched out on the floor. Blood was coming from the back of his head and he was deathly pale. His eyes did not open. He made no sign of life except as the heart feebly beat.

SURGEONS WERE HELPLESS.

Surgeons came, surgeons who had little of the technical knowledge of today. They said he was dying, that he could not be moved to the White House, but must be taken to some place near by, where instant attention could be given him. The moon rose at 10 that night, throwing its light to the earth through a half-clouded sky. The effect was weird in shadow and light. Major Rathbone and Captain Crawford directed the carrying of the President out of the theater to a house just across the street. He was laid upon a bed in a small room at the rear of the hall, not even to die in the place where four glorious years of his life had been passed.

Mrs. Lincoln followed, half distracted, tenderly cared for by a companion, Miss Harris. The surgeons bent over the President, but could do nothing for him. It was a derringer bullet that had entered his brain, just as a derringer bullet ended Mr. McKinley's life. John Hay, now secretary of state, then Major Hay, was sitting in an upper room of the White House with Robert Lincoln. They were hastily called to No. 453 Tenth street, where the President lay.

LIVED NINE HOURS.

The President remained unconscious during the night. His wound would have brought instant death to most men, but his vital tenacity was extraordinary. His breathing came slow and regular all through the long hours of waiting for the end. At daylight his pulse began to fail and the automatic moaning which had gone on through the night ceased. A look of unspeakable peace came upon his worn features. At twenty-two minutes after 7 the morning of April 15, 1865, a little more than nine hours after he was shot, Mr. Lincoln was no more.

Secretary Stanton was the first to break the silence, by saying:

"Now he belongs to the ages."

Rev. Dr. Gurley knelt in prayer. Mrs. Lincoln came in from an

adjoining room with her son and threw herself upon the lifeless body with a loud cry. In the room when the President died were Surgeon Crane, Surgeon General Barnes, Charles Sumner, Major Hay, Secretary Wells, Secretary Stanton and other prominent men of the times. They turned away as the sobs of Mrs. Lincoln rose above her dead.

DEATH OF GARFIELD.

President Garfield was shot at 9:30 in the morning, July 2, 1881, by Charles J. Guiteau. The shooting took place in the Baltimore and Ohio station at Washington, where the President, with Mr. Blaine, was awaiting a train. The bullet entered the body from the rear, struck the spine, and produced an injury ordinarily fatal. Much hope was held out, though, for the President's recovery by the surgeons in attendance.

He was promptly removed to the White House, where he lay in great agony until September 6, when, a special car having been constructed for him, he was conveyed to Elberon, Long Branch, that the sea breezes might benefit him. There he died, September 19, 1881. Garfield was conscious during the greater part of his illness. He was confident for many weeks that he would recover. He had indomitable will and extraordinary courage.

READY FOR THE END.

His mother and wife were with him, and he clung to them through all his terrible ordeal. After his arrival at Elberon there was a slight rally, but very slight. Terrible sinking spells came, and on the 19th of September, calm, prepared, conscious, he lifed his eyes upward, saw the radiance of a new day, and so parted with life. Mrs. Garfield, his son and several members of his cabinet were by his bedside when he died. The end had been expected for some little time—it was only a question of when.

Garfield's partings with those he loved form the most touching parts of his history. He had given the best of himself to his wife and he had worshiped his mother. It was over her he bent, after he had taken the oath of office as President, and kissed her.

"I have faith," he said, when he realized the shadows were closing in upon him.

"It is leaving you that hurts most," he whispered to the wife by his side.

Once he put out his wasted hand and said:

"If it is God's will, so be it."

And God's will prevailed.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Theodore Roosevelt.

Birth, Political History and War Experience.

The youngest of our presidents, Theodore Roosevelt, entered upon the duties of his high office well equipped for its arduous duties and high responsibilities. His knowledge of books and experience with men and affairs had been wide and varied, probably greater than that of many of his predecessors. His brilliant career had made him the cynosure of all eyes, and this had been emphasized by his prominent mention as a candidate for the presidency, previous to the meeting of the republican convention at Philadelphia in 1900.

Theodore Roosevelt was the fifth vice president of the nation to succeed the president with whom he was chosen to office. John Tyler was the first, succeeding William Henry Harrison. Next came Millard Fillmore, who succeeded Zachary Taylor. Andrew Johnson succeeded Abraham Lincoln and Chester A. Arthur took the place of James A. Garfield. Three of the five vice presidents owe their advancement to the assassin's bullet.

Mr. Roosevelt is better known to the nation than was Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson or Arthur when the latter became president. Roosevelt has come with credit from the various public tests he has passed through —as legislator, author, civil service commissioner, police commissioner, assistant secretary of the navy, soldier and vice president.

Chronologically considered, the epochs in Mr. Roosevelt's life cover but few years, yet show an advancement that has never before been equaled, even by the most ambitious and successful of Americans. The dates follow closely and punctuate his almost meteoric course:

Born in New York City, October 27, 1858.
Entered Harvard college in 1880.
Elected to New York legislature 1881.
Re-elected to legislature 1883.
Cattle and ranchman 1884 to 1886.
Defeated for mayor of New York 1886.
Member national civil service commission 1889.

New York police commissioner 1894.
Assistant secretary of navy 1897-98.
Colonel Spanish-American war 1898.
Governor New York 1899-1900.
Vice President United States March 4, 1901.
President United States September 14, 1901.

Mr. Roosevelt is of Dutch extraction on his father's side, his paternal ancestors having been representative citizens of the Empire state for eight generations. His mother was a Miss Martha Bullock of Georgia, a family distinguished in the South as far back as revolutionary times, when a governor of that name occupied the executive mansion.

Theodore Roosevelt appeared to have but a brief life before him. He was weakly as a child; as a boy he could not join in the rougher sports of his associates. At 20 he was almost an invalid. In early manhood he realized that something would have to be done to improve his physical condition, and at Harvard he became identified with the less boisterous sports of his classmates. He became expert at lightweight boxing and was soon recognized as the most skillful among the young men of his age. He graduated well up in his class in 1880, and still feeling the need of physical strengthening, went to Europe, where he climbed the Jungfrau and the Matterhorn and became a member of the Alpine Club by reason of these achievements.

Returning to New York, he studied law and quietly entered politics. "I have always believed," he said, "that every man should join a political organization and should attend the primaries; that he should not be content to be merely governed, but should do his part of that work. So after leaving college I went to the local political headquarters, attended all the meetings and took my part in whatever came up. There arose a revolt against the member of assembly from that district, and I was nominated to succeed him and was elected."

This was in 1881, and he was twice re-elected. There in that Albany morass of legislative corruption young Roosevelt began his political career. Modestly but unceasingly he made fierce war on criminal politics. By many he was considered but an assertive, well-meaning young man with correct ideas (absurd in practical politics)—a sort of visiting delegate from the Y. M. C. A. trying to run the Albany legislature, with its Thurlow Weed traditions, on a Sunday school basis.

But Roosevelt was soon discovered to be a knockdown fighter. One by one he smashed the idols of the famous lobby. One by one he attacked the corrupt departments of the New York city government, and spread astonishment among his opponents.

Upward he mounted, became republican candidate for speaker in his

second assembly year, and in the year following was made chairman of the committee on cities. Then began his fight for reform, preparing the way for the upheaval that came with the Lexow-Parkhurst-Goff investigation, following the notable investigation of his own committee in the early '80s.

The democrats soon realized that young Roosevelt was as able as he was honest, a tireless worker and as merciless as a gatling gun. He was found to be dangerous, a man to be let alone unless the ambulance was near. He gave and took hard knocks, and each day became more formidable with bits of dynamite in his arguments.

About this time the heaviest blow of a man's career fell upon him. His dear mother and wife died in one week. That touch of sorrow made him new and lifelong friends among men of both parties.

In 1884, the never to be forgotten year of the Blaine campaign, Mr. Roosevelt was recognized as a power in the state and made a delegate to the republican national convention to lead the Edmunds forces, and, though opposed to Mr. Blaine, refused to follow the bolters who went over to Cleveland, for he believed he could do nothing except through the regular party organization.

"Whatever good I have accomplished," he said, "has been through the republican party." So he entered the campaign and made speeches, and then went to his Dakota ranch and spent two years writing and shooting. It was in that Western home that he developed his taste for cowboy life, became a crack shot and bronco rider and expert with the lariat. He killed big game and wrote his books on "Ranch Life" and "The Winning of the West."

We next find him a candidate for mayor of New York, in the famous Henry George campaign, when Abram S. Hewitt won on the Tammany ticket and Henry George was counted out, he declared. Under the circumstances Roosevelt made a strong fight, and President Harrison appointed him to the civil service commission, where he made a brilliant record, increasing the number of positions of the civil service list from 1,400 to 40,000.

He resigned this position to become police commissioner in New York city under the reform administration of Mayor Strong. When a literary friend expressed surprise that a man of his scholarly attainments should enter on a police crusade, he said:

"I thought the storm center was in New York, and so I came here. It is a great piece of practical work. I like to take hold of work that has been done by a Tammany leader, and do it as well, only by approaching it from the opposite direction. The thing that attracted me to it was that it was to be done in the hurly-burly, for I don't like cloister life."

The new commissioner stirred up the town. The regulation reformers did not know whether to applaud or curse. Many declared that his rigid enforcement of the excise law enabled Tammany to return to power by capturing the votes of liquor men who had temporarily joined the reformers. In reply Roosevelt said he had sworn to enforce all the laws and he would not compromise his conscience. Besides, he held that the best way to get a bad law repealed was to rigidly enforce it.

While a police commissioner in New York city, Mr. Roosevelt did not depend on the reports of his subordinates to learn whether his orders were being obeyed and that the reforms he recommended were being carried out, but pursued the simple, effective method of personally visiting the patrolmen of the force on their beats at night. On one of these trips he found two policemen drinking in a saloon. "Is this the way you do your duty?" he asked, quietly. Neither of the officers had seen the commissioner before and they took him for some prying stranger. "What's that to you?" replied one of the men. "Get out of here or we will throw you out." Mr. Roosevelt did not get out. Nor did he lose his temper. He replied in the same quiet voice: "No, I will not go out. I am Police Commissioner Roosevelt, and I am looking for men like you who do not obey my orders. Come to my office to-morrow." The men apologized, but it was of no use. They called at the commissioner's office the next day and were reduced.

On another of these incognito tours he saw one policeman capture a dangerous burglar and another risk his life to save a family from a burning building. The commissioner did what he could to help in both cases, and when the work was over he thanked the men personally for their bravery and invited them to call at his office. When they called they were again praised and thanked and notified that they had been promoted.

He said to a newspaper writer once, at the close of a meeting, that he believed a majority of policemen were good men. He believed in giving every applicant a chance to show what he could do and treating him honestly and fairly, regardless of his nationality, politics, religion or "pull."

"We have every country represented on the police force," he said. "Hebrews working harmoniously with Irishmen; Germans making good records with Spaniards—in fact, every nationality is represented almost but the Chinese, and I find the men as a class willing to give faithful service. When men find the official in charge of them consistent, always keeping his word to the letter, they will soon begin following the example set before them. Treat a man squarely and you will get square treatment in return. That is human nature and sound doctrine, whether in the police or in any other department."

Being an honest man and determined to do his duty fearlessly and without favor, Mr. Roosevelt was not caught in the many traps set for him. All attempts to ensnare him were failures and soon appeared so ridiculous that he became the best "let alone" official in the city government.

ROOSEVELT, THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

When Tammany took possession of New York, Theodore Roosevelt left the police department to become assistant secretary of the navy at Washington. It seemed an unimportant, obscure position, but he made it, by the sheer force of his personality, one of the important levers in our successful war with Spain.

He had long been familiar with naval matters, historically and theoretically, and it was only a short time before his associates realized that he was a man to be depended upon, for practical considerations as well.

He seemed to have a kind of prophetic insight into the future, for long before the United States was stirred from center to circumference by the explosion of the Maine, he exclaimed to a friend in New York: "We shall be compelled to fight Spain within a year."

From the date of his appointment, in April, 1897, he began to make ready for such an event with a vigor that took away the breath of more conservative naval officers. "To be prepared for war is the most effectual means to promote peace," was the subject upon which he addressed a class at the naval academy of Annapolis. He carried out this maxim of Washington to its fullest conclusion. He hastened work on the new warships and ordered repairs on the old ones. Neither did he content himself with giving directions. He saw to it personally that they were carried out. No man who came within the radius of his authority was suffered to shirk. He seemed ubiquitous. As illustrative of his thoroughness is a characteristic remark, which made his inefficient employes shudder.

"In ordinary routine matters," he said, "if a man does ordinarily well I am satisfied; but if he doesn't do the work of importance in the navy with the snap and vigor I believe is necessary, I'll cinch him till he squeals."

Roosevelt also issued orders that the crew of every ship be recruited to its full strength. He began to buy provisions, guns and ammunition, and to insist on more extended gunnery practice, which seemed extravagant to some of his less radical brethren. He filled the bins of every supply station with coal. Accordingly, when Dewey steamed

across the Pacific, he found fuel waiting for him. Without the unnecessary delay of an instant, the Admiral took on his coal and sailed calmly by the astonished Spaniards, who supposed him miles away.

Events justified Roosevelt in the preparations he had made. The result of his course was so obvious as to make Senator Davis, chairman of the senate committee on foreign relations, declare that if it had not been for Roosevelt we should not have been able to strike the blow that we did at Manila. Because of the forethought, therefore, of the assistant secretary of the navy, one of the most brilliant victories in our history was made possible.

Secretary Roosevelt was occupied not only with the material needs of the navy, but he found time also to accomplish a change in the administration of it, which will be of great advantage for years to come. This change found expression in the well-known naval personal bill, which amalgamates the line and engineer corps of the navy. By means of it the work of the navy department in detailing officers for duty will be made much simpler, since every officer of the new line will be able to perform any of the duties which involve the management of large bodies of men or the control of machinery.

The issue with Spain was held off as long as possible, to give the war department time to gather itself for the coming struggle, but finally the words rang through the country:

"War is declared!"

The naval department was overwhelmed with new duties and responsibilities. Like the rest of its members, Theodore Roosevelt scarcely allowed himself time to eat and sleep. Among numberless other things, he had the immediate charge of purchasing vessels for the auxiliary fleet. There were to be sixty of them, as staunch and well adapted for service as it was possible to find.

Again the country profited by his unimpeachable honesty. Ship-brokers flocked to him by the dozen. They had hulks to sell in various stages of disrepair and rottenness. They had powerful backing, too. But they found Roosevelt as hard as adamant.

He refused unconditionally to buy any ships not recommended by the board which examined them and pronounced upon their merits. The board was made up of careful, expert men, and no unfit vessel won their approbation. So the ship-brokers found the task of cheating the navy too difficult for them and retired discomfited. As a consequence the auxiliary fleet was one to which the country could commit with safety the lives of her loyal sons. He set himself against the bureaucracy that had marked time with such inefficiency that the ships could get no powder for target practice. His intense effort soon secured an appro-

priation of $800,000. Within a month he was back with a request for $500,000 more.

"But where is the $800,000 you got?" he was asked.

"Burned," was the laconic reply.

And it was the burning of that powder, in part, that made Dewey's gunners invincible at Manila.

Roosevelt describes himself, during this time, as "sharpening the tools of the navy." When the task was accomplished to the satisfaction of every one concerned, he gave way to the desire which was overwhelming him. "There is nothing more for me to do here," he said. "I've got to get into the fight myself."

A furor arose. His friends tried to dissuade him, and all the leading newspapers of the country assured him that he was taking just the right course to ruin his career. They told him that there were plenty of men to stop bullets but very few who could manage a navy.

"You are leaving a wife and six children," said one of the female population, with tears in her eyes.

"I have done as much as any one to bring on this war," replied Roosevelt, "and shall I shirk now?"

His resignation was therefore tendered, and accepted with much regret by the President and Secretary Long. He was free to carry out the plan which had enlisted his interest so thoroughly.

American history was as familiar to Secretary Roosevelt as his a b c's. He knew all about Mad Anthony Wayne; the dramatic story of Marion's men in the American Revolution, and the part that the Texas Rangers played in the Mexican war. What Andy Jackson's soldiers did in the war of 1812 stirred his martial spirit, too, and from a knowledge of the deeds accomplished by all these commanders, he concluded that such service would be invaluable in the Spanish war.

Congress, agreeing with him, authorized the raising of three cavalry regiments from among the wild riders and riflemen of the Rockies and the great plains. Roosevelt was offered the command of one of them. His knowledge of military matters was established by practical experiment, for as far back as 1884 he had been a lieutenant of the Eighth regiment of the National Guard of the State of New York. He afterwards rose to the rank of captain, and remained a militiaman for more than four years.

He felt that he could learn how to command a regiment in a month, but that the month at that time was of inestimable importance to the country. So he declined the commission of colonel.

"Later," he said, "after I have gained some experience, perhaps that may come." It did come, not a colonelcy only, but a recommendation also for the medal of honor for gallant conduct in action.

Roosevelt, therefore, was appointed lieutenant colonel of the regiment, and Dr. Leonard Wood its colonel. The two commanders were overwhelmed with applications from every state in the Union for membership in their regiment. They found that the difficulty lay not in selecting men, but in rejecting them. As far as numbers went, they could have raised a division as easily as a regiment.

Finally choice was made among all the candidates, whose great longing was to get to the front with this regiment into the thick of the fight. The result was a body of picked men so perfect in physique, health and courage that it would have been difficult to match them anywhere.

Perhaps no other regiment that ever existed held quite so many elements peaceably within its limits. The red Indian stood beside a college graduate, the cowboy outlaw made friends with the ex-policeman from New York; the son of a millionaire fraternized with the man who did not know where his next dime was coming from, and the minister shared his tent with the atheist.

As a demonstration of practical Americanism, this regiment was one of the most effective lessons which the country has had for many a long day. All distinctions of race, birth and circumstances were forgotten. The purpose of every man was to find his duty and to do it, whatever it might be.

The first camp of the Rough Riders during the period of organization and discipline was at San Antonio, Tex. There the regiment learned to pull together, to feel itself as a body and to test its strength. Soldier and officer went at their new tasks with a will, determined that by no fault of theirs should the regiment fall into disrepute. With this feeling predominant the task of bringing unity of action out of all the great variety of men gathered together was comparatively easy to accomplish.

Colonel Wood and Colonel Roosevelt had put in their requests early at the war office and had badgered the authorities so constantly that weapons and supplies were forthcoming just when they needed them. The last of the rifles had been received. The regiment had drilled so diligently that it was ready to do effective, intelligent service wherever it might be called.

Then the welcome order flashed over the telegraph wires: "Move to Tampa."

By this time the many different elements had shaken down together and the regiment had emerged from its preparatory stage as a corporate body. The reversal of positions was so complete that it seemed as if the whole scheme of social distinctions must have been shaken up in a

kaleidoscope. During the hot, dusty journey to Tampa, for instance, anyone with a sense of humor would have appreciated the sight of James Tailer and Robert Ferguson, two of the most fastidious members of the Knickerbocker Club of New York, serving canned corn beef, beans and hardtack, three times each day, to the hungry troopers.

Hamilton Fish, Jr., and William Tiffany, nephew of Mrs. August Belmont and a grand-nephew of Commodore Oliver H. Perry, the hero of the battle of Lake Erie, had charge of the freight cars containing the baled hay for the horses. They fought as well as they worked, for Hamilton Fish was the first Rough Rider killed by Spanish fire and William Tiffany lived only long enough after the war to reach American shores.

But though the regiment contained representatives of all classes of society, the bulk of it was made up of the fine sturdy men which our Western prairies hold in reserve. They came almost altogether from the four territories still remaining within the boundaries of the United States.

"They were a splendid set of men, these Southwesterners," writes their commander with just pride; "tall and sinewy, with resolute, weather-beaten faces, and eyes that looked a man straight in the face without flinching. In all the world there could be no better material for soldiers than that afforded by these grim hunters of the mountains, these wild rough riders of the plains."

No small thing, perhaps, served to make the various men feel their brotherhood more than the Rough Riders' cry, combining war whoop, cattle call and college yell, which by some mysterious process of evolution came into being. When a thousand throats shouted it together no man could help feeling the pulse of the regiment beating in his brain.

"Rough! tough! we're the stuff!
We're the scrappers; never get enough! W-h-o-o-e-e!"

Roosevelt opposed the name of "Rough Riders" at first. "The objection to that term," he said once, with a twinkle in his eye, "is that people who read the newspapers may get the impression that the regiment is to be a hippodrome affair." No one had this idea long. After the first fight of the Rough Riders their colonel's prediction was verified.

After four days on the cars the troops disembarked at Tampa in what their colonel calls a perfect "welter of confusion." The railroad company landed them wherever it could. No one was on hand to give them directions and no one to issue food for the first twenty-four hours. The commanders bought what they could for their men to eat and paid for it out of their own pockets, but even then the soldiers were without warm food or drink during all the first arduous stages of camp making.

THE MILBURN HOUSE, BUFFALO

It is a trying task to bring order out of chaos when the fault is not one's own, and particularly exasperating when hunger adds more misery to the situation. But the Rough Riders were patient and forbearing. Then, as always, they set about the next duty without murmuring.

Indeed, they would have been ashamed to do anything else, for their commander shared every hardship with them. Colonel Wood they loved and respected, though he left them so soon for the command of a brigade that he was not identified so closely with the life of the regiment as Theodore Roosevelt. He was their hero whom they would have followed over burning plowshares, if need was, as steadily as to the Cuban island. It is not often given to a man to have such worship and devotion as was accorded to Roosevelt by his Rough Riders. But this was his first reward for a long career of unswerving, unflinching honesty that proved his sterling worth.

The Rough Riders were ready for war and all that it meant. But the Government did not need them all. It was necessary to leave behind four troops entire, and some men also from the troops that were taken. It was difficult to make the choice and the disappointment of those who could not go was so keen and bitter that officers and men wept like children. They had given up so much for the war that they felt as if nothing else could be worth while except active service. Yet the inconspicuous heroes who did their uninteresting camp duty at home while their comrades were making history, surely deserve praise and commendation from their countrymen. For they, too, had the heart to do and the spirit to dare.

The Rough Riders remained ten days in Tampa before embarking. When they were once safely aboard the transport ship Yucatan, there was little incident to vary the eight days' voyage to Daiquiri. The men became better acquainted in their amusements and in the exchange of jokes. Nicknames were plentiful and as an indication of the intimacy of the men were very interesting.

"A brave but fastidious member of a well-known Eastern club," says Roosevelt, "who was serving in the ranks, was christened 'Tough Ike'; and his bunker, the man who shared his shelter tent, who was a decidedly rough cow-puncher, gradually acquired the name of 'The Dude.' One unlucky and simple-minded cow-puncher who had never been east of the great plains in his life, unwarily boasted that he had an aunt in New York and ever afterward went by the name of 'Metropolitan Bill.' A huge red-headed Irishman was named 'Sheeney Solomon.' A young Jew, who developed into one of the best fighters in the regiment, accepted, with entire equanimity, the name of 'Porkchop.'"

Surprises were the order of the day in this regiment and it was not

at all strange, for instance, that Captain "Buckey" O'Neil, "the iron-nerved, iron-willed fighter from Arizona, the sheriff whose name was a by-word of terror to every wrongdoer, white or red, the gambler who with unmoved face would stake and lose every dollar he had in the world," should have been overheard by his Colonel discussing Aryan root-words with Dr. Robb Church. The stories and tales that went round added miles of horizon to the imagination of those who listened, for, taken all together, the soldiers of the regiment had explored nearly every corner of the earth and had passed through the whole gamut of human experience.

At the end of the voyage came the dramatic and dangerous performance of landing at Daiquiri, where the Rough Riders, with the rest of the seven thousand men, were put ashore in small row boats. These had either to be run up through the surf and beached or landed at a pier, so high that the only way of reaching it was by a mighty leap just as the boat rose on the topmost crest of a wave. Several boats filled with supplies and ammunition were swamped and only a few rifles could be recovered by the men who dived after the missing cargoes. Two men also were drowned, but considering the awkwardness and primitive method of landing, the wonder is not that there should have been any men at all drowned, but that there should have been as few.

Roosevelt begged that his regiment might be one of the first to go to the front. His request was granted. Almost as soon as the Rough Riders, therefore, were all on shore, they began to march forward with the rest of the advance column on the narrow trail, full of strength and courage. On Thursday, June 23, the day following the landing, the army advanced to Juragua. This place the enemy hastily evacuated. By night the two main divisions of the invaders, advancing by different roads, had met on the high ground surrounding the city of Santiago, within ten miles of the guns of Morro.

The army even at this time had a foretaste of the real misery of the war—lack of shelter and food. The soldiers even then began to make jokes about the possibility of being killed by hunger before the enemy had a shot at them. For the food sent to them at that time was scanty and unsuitable, and during all the hardest part of the campaign the same deplorable state of affairs existed.

In reference to this Roosevelt says in "The Rough Riders":

"Of course no one would have minded in the least such hardships as we endured had there been any need of enduring them; but there was none. System and sufficiency of transportation were all that were needed."

At daybreak on Friday the forward movement began again. The

heat was intense, the jungle almost impassable. The Rough Riders were weary from the journey and their forced march. But they beat their way untiringly through thick brush and treacherous swamps with the rest of the guarding column. The sound of trees falling gave warning that the enemy was ahead preparing defenses. Almost before they realized it the firing began. Spanish sharpshooters concealed in the trees dropped accurate bullets among them. Volley after volley assailed them from the enemy screened behind the bushes. The smokeless powder used gave no clew to their whereabouts. But the order for a general charge was given and with a cheer regulars and Rough Riders obeyed the order, firing where they could, as they plunged along over the uneven ground into the first engagement of the war, the battle of Las Guasimas.

The Spaniards had made careful preparations. They had placed nearly fifteen hundred men in front of the advancing column and on its sides. They had arranged an ambush and they held the ridges with rifle guns and machine guns. It was a warm reception, truly, for our soldiers. The Spanish fire was well placed and very heavy. The enemy held their ground obstinately. But it was impossible to hold out against American pluck. In spite of every obstacle the invaders forced the pass and won the victory.

When the fighting was over and the rush and hurry and the feverish intensity of battle had given place to temporary calm and quiet, the history of the day was told again and again as each man had seen it for himself. It was a wonderful story, for every foot of ground over which the soldiers had advanced bore its record of brave and fearless deeds.

"No man," writes Roosevelt, "was allowed to drop out to help the wounded. It was hard to leave them there in the jungle where they might not be found again until the vultures and the land crabs came, but war is a grim game and there was no choice. One of the men shot was Harry Heffner, of G Troop, who was mortally wounded through the hips. He fell without uttering a sound and two of his companions dragged him behind a tree. Here he propped himself up and asked to be given his canteen and his rifle, which I handed to him. He then again began shooting, and continued loading and firing until the line moved forward and we left him alone, dying, in the gloomy shade. When we found him again, after the fight, he was dead."

The instances of bravery, devotion and self-sacrifice displayed by the Rough Riders on that day of conflict would fill a volume. On none of the glorious battle-fields where Americans have fought for their country, was the typical American bravery better displayed.

In the field hospital lay a little group of twenty men, all badly

wounded. The battle agony was in their faces, their "red badge of courage" stained the Cuban soil, yet in their hearts there was no fear. Some one began to sing—

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee we sing."

Others joined in. The eyes of the men bore the glaze of approaching death, others sang jerkily and off key, and more than one quavering voice was stopped by the finger of Death upon his lips. Yet the anthem was finished—sung for the first time by American soldiers, fighting for the first time on Cuban soil, under the flag they loved.

Lieutenant Ord and his men had captured a rifle pit. A Spaniard, badly wounded, was still firing. One of Ord's men took aim, but the lieutenant ordered him not to fire at a wounded man. He lowered his gun. The Spaniard took deliberate aim at Lieutenant Ord and blew his brains out. Ord's men at once killed the Spaniard, not with a bullet, as a soldier hopes to go, but with the butts of their rifles as such a man should be dispatched.

Captain Capron, of the artillery, lifted the blanket which covered his dead boy's face. "Well done, my son," was all he said, but it was enough. For the boy had died fighting for his country, and there is no nobler death.

Hamilton Fish, Jr., and Captain Capron fell at the very outset. The latter displayed the extreme of bravery, killing two Spaniards with a rifle after he was mortally wounded. Captain Capron was buried in Juragua on the hillside near the seashore. But all the other Rough Riders who fell in the battle of Las Guasimas lie together in one grave, at the top of the hill which they had died to win.

"There could be no more honorable burial," writes Roosevelt in the story of the regiment, "than that of these men in a common grave—Indian and cowboy, miner, packer and college athlete—the man of unknown ancestry from the lonely Western plains, and the man who carried on his watch the crests of the Stuyvesants and Fishes, one in the way they had met death, just as during life they had been one in their daring and loyalty."

No stained glass windows shed softened light upon the faces of those who lay on the hillside, no organ sounded the majestic chords of the funeral march, and no roses lay in their folded hands. It was grim and silent and pitiful. But the brief tropic dusk made their cathedral and the "taps" from the bugle was their last good night. Over their grave is an inscription—"to the memory of eight unknown soldiers." Unknown, perhaps, but not forgotten, for they are the eight

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

who received the baptism of fire for the flag, under its stars in a land they were trying to make free.

Intense suffering was endured by the wounded after the battle of Las Guasimas, lack of medicine and proper food adding to their misery and costing many lives that might well have been saved under better conditions. This was chargeable to lack of foresight and insufficient transportation, but the success of the battle may, in the hard economy of war, be taken as some sort of compensation for the extra loss of life.

The morning following the battle of Las Guasimas Roosevelt went to Siboney to visit the wounded, and after looking about at the heroes he said with a ring of his voice that no one who heard him will ever forget:

"Boys, if there is a man in the United States who wouldn't be proud to change places with you he is not worth his salt, and he is not a true American."

The first four days after the battle were uneventful. There was very little food for the soldiers. Tents were an unknown luxury. Every tenth man had a blanket which he had captured from the Spaniards, but the other nine were without shelter or protection against the frequent rains. But neither regulars nor Rough Riders grumbled.

About this time Colonel Wood was put in command of a brigade and Roosevelt was made colonel of his regiment. Close on his appointment followed the thrilling battle of San Juan Hill, beginning the first day of July.

During the first part of the action the Rough Riders were held in reserve for what seemed to them an interminable length of time. They fell, man after man, wounded or killed by Spanish bullets without a chance to return a shot.

At last the order was given to support the regulars and to make an attack on San Juan Hill in force. Nothing could have been more welcome to the men than the chance to hunt down the enemies who were dealing out death to them so unsparingly.

Roosevelt was ahead, mounted on horseback. He wore on his sombrero a blue polka dot handkerchief, and as he rode it fluttered out straight behind him. His men scrambled along after him as best they could up the slippery hill that gave them no footing, a few in advance and the others creeping along behind.

Up they went and up through a perfect rain of deadly bullets.

There was no glitter, no sound of trumpets, no detachment of men keeping step to the music of a band. But all along the straggling rows men dropped and lay where they fell or struggled toward sheltering bushes, while their comrades pushed on to take their places,

The line of soldiers rose higher and higher. The half-way point was reached. The fire of the Spaniards was redoubled; their bullets hissed like a thousand serpents.

Then for one moment the enemy appeared, black and forbidding, between our soldiers and the sky. They fired one volley and fled, as the men of the Tenth and the Rough Riders reached the blockhouse together.

San Juan Hill was ours.

The loss of life was great, not only during the battle, but while the men were waiting the command to move. Amid all the carnage Roosevelt seemed to bear a charmed life. Mounted on horseback, as he was, he made a conspicuous target at which many a Spaniard aimed. No one who saw him start up San Juan Hill on a gallop ever expected to see him alive again. But not a bullet touched him. He reached the blockhouse on the top of the hill, with four troopers, before all the Spaniards had abandoned it and killed one of them who was still firing, with his own revolver. He had a narrow escape, too, while standing with a group of officers near the top of the ridge in advance of his command. Two shells in swift succession screeched over their heads from the direction of Santiago; one killed a Cuban, and the other burst a short distance from the colonel. A fragment of it struck Roosevelt on the first knuckle of the left hand, causing the blood to flow freely. He walked over to some of his men and held out his hand, remarking with a smile:

"Well, boys, I got it, too, but the Spaniards will have to beat that."

During the three days' battle of San Juan the men had a good demonstration of the hardships of war. They fought all day and dug in the trenches most of the night. They had almost nothing to eat, but no one shirked. They were drenched to the skin by tropical rains and then chilled through and through by the night air.

"To wake men up at 5 a. m.," says their commander, "who have had nothing to eat, nothing to cover them—wake them up suddenly and have them all run the right way; that is the test. Such men are a good lot. There wasn't a man who went to the rear."

This is Colonel Roosevelt's side of the story, but his men had another to tell. They had lain for forty-eight hours in the muddy ditches and it seemed as if their endurance was at an end. They were worn out, hungry and discouraged. Suddenly, early in the morning the Spaniards appeared at the top of the hill. The men in the trenches stirred restlessly. They felt as if they wanted to turn anywhere away from those whizzing balls. Just at that moment they saw Colonel Roosevelt with his blue handkerchief flapping about his neck, walking

as calmly along the top of the intrenchment as if he had been taking a stroll at Oyster Bay.

The rain of Mauser bullets dropping about him gave him no concern whatever. The men cheered him and called him to come down. In the face of such coolness and bravery all their uneasiness vanished in a moment. They were again courageous soldiers, ready to fight till every Spaniard had fallen or fled.

On the seventeenth of July Santiago surrendered. But it was at a heavy cost to our army. The climate and the lack of suitable food were as fatal as the enemy's bullets and the army was a mere skeleton of itself. A few sporadic cases of yellow fever appeared. But the disease did not spread. Malarial fever was the great foe, and nearly every soldier had at least a touch of it. Man after man was dying of disease and lack of nourishment. Not ten per cent of the army was fit for active service. The four immune regiments ordered there were sufficient to garrison the town. There was absolutely nothing for the soldiers to do. But still the authorities at Washington did not give the order to return.

At last, after Colonel Roosevelt had taken the initiative, all the American general officers united in a "round robin" to General Shafter setting forth the true state of affairs.

"This army must be moved at once or perish," they wrote. "As the army can be safely moved now, the persons responsible for preventing such a move will be responsible for the unnecessary loss of many thousand lives."

As a result of this protest the officials at Washington finally woke to the fact that the army must be ordered home or there would be nothing left to order. When the command reached Cuba the men could scarcely contain themselves for joy. Colonel Roosevelt marched to the ship at the head of his regiment. There were many gaps in it which could never be filled, and many soldier graves on the island to tell the sad story of the war. But there were many heroes, too, reserved for a kinder fate, and many who received their promotion and marched home again to the reward of their bravery.

After a prosperous voyage the Rough Riders landed at Long Island and were soon mustered out of service to return to the paths of peace. But the gallant colonel who had so nobly done his duty, courted no rest —his impetuous nature, ever looking for active service, requires action.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Theodore Roosevelt.

Governor, Vice President—Anecdotes and Incidents.

The campaign for the control of New York State in the approaching election of a governor had already begun when the Rough Riders returned from Cuba. Colonel Roosevelt's name had often been mentioned for the Republican nomination, and the popular enthusiasm for this selection was supported by the leaders of the party in the State. Governor Frank S. Black had been elected by an enormous plurality two years previous, and according to all traditions should have been renominated. He was set aside, however, for the new hero, and the convention at Saratoga nominated Colonel Roosevelt with a hurrah. The friends of Governor Black had fought bitterly so long as there seemed a chance of success, and they started the rumor that Colonel Roosevelt was ineligible for the nomination, as he had relinquished his residence in New York when he went to Washington to enter the Navy Department.

The actual campaign was a most picturesque one. B. B. Odell, chairman of the state committee and now governor of New York, was opposed to Colonel Roosevelt stumping the state in his own behalf, but it soon became apparent that general apathy existed, and consent was reluctantly given to the candidate to do so. There followed a series of speeches that woke up the voters.

Colonel Roosevelt, by nature forceful, direct, and theatrical in his manner and method, went back and forward, up and down, New York, accompanied by a few of his Rough Riders in their uniforms. These cowboys made speeches, telling, usually, how much they thought of their colonel, and the tour met with success. Colonel Roosevelt was elected governor over Augustus Van Wyck, the Democratic candidate, by a plurality of about 17,000 votes.

In his conduct of the governorship Colonel Roosevelt was often at odds with Senator Platt and the leaders of the party in the state, but no breach occurred between them. The governor nominated men of his own selection for the department of public works—which had been the source of great scandal—and for adjutant general and surrogate of New York County. These men were selected for their special fitness to correct the evils in the office to which they were appointed, and were given

the places against the claims of the party leaders' choice for the same positions. Efforts to secure the passage of a bill to improve the civil service in the state and to change the police system in New York City were fathered by Governor Roosevelt and pushed by Senator Platt, but failed of passage through dereliction of Republican Senators.

After a year of remarkable success in governing the State of New York Colonel Roosevelt went to Las Vegas, New Mexico, to attend the first reunion of his regiment.

The opening day was given over to the joy of reunion, to elaborate receptions and fireworks. The second was the anniversary of the battle of Las Guasimas and a service was held in memory of the dead. It was very impressive.

New Mexico has never seen a greater day than the one on which cowboys, in every kind of garb, guardsmen of the New Mexico National Guard, Rough Riders, Indians, Mexican women and children from the adobes, and ranchmen in their picturesque attire welcomed the men they "loved next to idolatry."

Parson Uzzell preached a strong and characteristic sermon, closing it with a recitation of Kipling's Recessional.

In the afternoon all the interest centered about the presentation of a medal to Colonel Roosevelt and a sword to the gallant Major Brodie, given by the Rough Riders and the citizens of New Mexico.

Hon. Frank Springer presented the medal to the colonel and made a ringing speech which caused every Rough Rider to thrill and tingle with pride in his birthright as an American citizen.

A few hours afterward the regiment dispersed for the second time. But its soldiers carried to the four corners of the country the inspiration of that meeting. However far they may be separated in place and thought, the name of Roosevelt will bridge the distance, and the words of Kipling's mighty war song will be to them as a password into that strange and wonderful experience of war and battle which they shared together.

ROOSEVELT AS VICE PRESIDENT.

Theodore Roosevelt, as governor of New York, continued to keep in the public eye, as he had always done in every other position he had held from the day of his election to the legislature of his native state. In the spring of 1900, on the approach of the Republican national convention, his name was the most often spoken of in connection with the second place on the national ticket. The convention met June 19 in Philadelphia, and it was made known that Cornelius N. Bliss of New York, who had been a member of the cabinet of President McKinley,

was the choice of Chairman Hanna and the members of the Republican national committee. The renomination of President McKinley for his high office was admittedly a foregone conclusion.

Almost all the men who have stepped from the vice-presidency into the higher office to fill out terms for which other men were selected have taken up the administration under a handicap. They received the nomination for the lesser place with a distinct impression on the part of the public that they were not, and never would be, of heavy enough caliber for the presidency. Honorable and able gentlemen as some of them proved to be, they could not have the full confidence of the public nor could they regard themselves as other than stopgaps used by bitter necessity to fill the presidential succession. It has been the practice in nominating conventions—a practice which from now on should be abandoned absolutely—to select the man for second place on considerations of party expediency, geographical location or the desirability of appeasing some of the dissatisfied ones in the party ranks, but with little regard for personal fitness.

Mr. Roosevelt began his administration with none of these embarrassments. Previous to the Philadelphia convention he was regarded as belonging to the available "presidential timber," and his nomination for the presidency in 1904 was seen to be most probable in any event. Almost immediately after the death of President McKinley he announced his determination to continue the policy of his illustrious predecessor and invited the McKinley cabinet to retain their portfolios. This produced a splendid effect upon the country at large. Few Presidents have ever entered upon the discharge of their high duties under more promising auspices than did Theodore Roosevelt, who took the oath of office at Buffalo, where the cabinet was assembled, on September 14, 1901.

ROOSEVELT'S MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN.

In 1881 Mr. Roosevelt and Miss Alice Lee of Boston married. Two years later he lost his wife and his mother. In 1886 Mr. Roosevelt married a second time, Miss Edith Kermit Carow becoming his wife. The domestic life of Mr. Roosevelt is ideal. Whether ensconced in winter quarters at New York or Washington, or at the famous summer home at Oyster Bay, on Long Island, the indulgent father is always ready to romp with his children, and he enters into the sport with as much zest as the youngest of the six. In many ways the children reflect the paternal characteristics. Alice, who is seventeen years old, is Mr. Roosevelt's daughter by his first marriage. She is tall, dark and serious-looking, and rides her father's military charger fearlessly and gracefully.

The next is Theodore, Jr., or "young Teddy," the idol of his father's heart, and a genuine "chip of the old block" in the estimation of those who know him. Young Teddy owns a shotgun and hopes some day to kill more and bigger game than his father ever slew. He also rides a pony of his own. He is fourteen years old. The other children are: Kermit, aged twelve; Ethel, aged ten; Archibald, aged seven, and Quentin, aged four.

These children were all born in New York. There is a significance about their given names, which were not chosen for them at a venture or culled out of the pages of popular novels. Theodore explains itself —the third Roosevelt of that name in direct succession, beginning with Theodore, the merchant and importer of glassware, father of the new President. Kermit one might suppose to be some ancient Dutch name, taken from the remote history of the Roosevelts; remote its origin may be, but it is Manx, not Dutch-Celtic, not Teutonic—commemorating its bearer's descent from an ancestor in that quaint isle, and starting him in life with one presumably unique possession.

Of the rest, Archibald's first and second names both connect him with the Scottish ancestry, the Bulloch family, which settled in the Southern States and is still as well known in Dixie as it was in the days of the confederacy, when one of its members fired the last gun on board Semmes' Alabama. The fiery Huguenot strain is duly honored in the baby, Quentin. Kermit received his name from the mother's side of the house, Mrs. Roosevelt having been born Edith Kermit Carow. Alice was named for her mother, the President's first wife, and Ethel for a relative.

ROOSEVELT AS AUTHOR.

Mr. Roosevelt has been a great student and quite a voluminous writer. The Saturday Review of the New York *Times* gives an able estimate of his writings, as follows:

He has published a half dozen serious works in history and in biography, three original works on hunting and ranch life, and a considerable number of essays, some of them of an extremely careful and permanently valuable character. Had he done nothing but write his fascinating hunting books—and lived through the experiences they relate in so simple and winning style—he would probably be more widely known in other lands than any other American save one or two. Had he not obscured his reputation as a historian by his industry in making history he would have a distinct place in the circle of American writers in that field. It remains true, however, that if his life had been less full and active, his literary work would in all probability have had less value, and the value would have been less peculiar.

The little volume of essays he published in 1897, immediately after his retirement from the Police Board of New York, has most of the traits of his entire literary product. They range in date over a dozen years. Four of them are in effect autobiographic, discussing the legislature of New York, the police of New York, civil service reform and machine politics in New York. These are models in their kind, and their kind is an extremely difficult and risky one. They are direct in narrative, clear and succinct in description, well weighed and convincing in their judgments, moderate in temper and simply indispensable to the reader who wishes to study the subjects with which they deal. They reveal directly, as the histories and biographies reveal indirectly, the mind and character of the writer. They are almost entirely free from the extreme criticism and sweeping theorizing which for this hater of mere critics and theorists seem to have a fascination that he can resist only when his mind is engaged on facts with which he himself has dealt. Of his defects and temptations there are also examples in the essays, especially in those that suggest lay sermons, in which the preaching is strikingly inferior to the author's practice.

If Mr. Roosevelt's vigorous personality constitutes a limitation on the scope and excellence of his literary work, it also gives to the best of it both charm and value. If that part of the work in which the personality is not enlisted does not compel attention, the rest demands and repays study. The ideals of the writer and of the citizen are the same, and they are high. No one who has fairly made himself familiar with both can deny that. From the point of view of the critic it is extremely interesting to note that when the best qualities of the man are most completely called into play the best work of the writer is done.

It may be said of Mr. Roosevelt's writing that it is at its best when it approaches most nearly to action, and this, we are confident, would be the judgment which he would be most content to deserve. His hunting books are a striking instance of this quality. They are models of straightforward and convincing narrative and description. The personal element is, of course, prevalent in them, but it is not at all obtrusive or out of perspective. There is no assumption of modesty in them, no affectation of indifference to the writer's own share in the experiences and observations recorded. He is quite frankly and inevitably a chief actor in the tale, but not at all the hero. He takes his part with zest, and his personality lends a natural and constant charm to every adventure. But he is intensely interested in the game he pursues, in the country he hunts over, in his companions, in everything that presents itself to the eager and vigorous mind, to his keen and alert vision. The present writer speaks only as a general reader, quite uninitiated in the mysteries of the

MRS. ROOSEVELT

hunter's craft, and without that reverence for them which devotees demand, but as a general reader he finds Mr. Roosevelt's hunting books the most engaging and satisfactory of their sort.

In his histories and biographies, Roosevelt the writer is most successful when Roosevelt the man is most completely enlisted, and when his subject is of the sort to which his multiform activities have been most closely related. They are best, certainly they are the most interesting, where they are the unconscious representation of the author's mind and character. He misses, for instance, some of the most significant phases of the curious and original nature of Gouverneur Morris, one of the strongest, most penetrating and most strangely limited minds in our early or later history, but he grasps firmly and renders clearly the working of the essential forces that went to the "Winning of the West." These he feels; he has been in active alliance and co-operation with them, and has had to wrestle with them.

ANECDOTES AND INCIDENTS RELATING TO ROOSEVELT.

Anecdotes in which President Roosevelt figures as the star are almost as numerous as those told of Lincoln. Possessing a striking personality, and having a habit of doing and saying things out of the ordinary, his words and deeds are always interesting. The range of stories is wide and varied, as might naturally be expected of a man who has been a cowboy, a traveler, a writer, a reformer, a soldier and a statesman. It has been said of him that no American living to-day is so versatile; that there is no calling that he could not fill, and with credit. Be that as it may, he has certainly played a long list of roles, and in each he has been a conspicuous success. And he is still a young man. His complete biography, when written, will be quite as entertaining reading as that of any of our popular heroes who are dead.

IN THE PULPIT.

The new President has appeared on the political stump times without number, but only once, so far as recorded, has he appeared in the pulpit. This was in Chicago recently. Mr. Roosevelt is a personal friend of the Rev. Mr. Moerdyke of the Trinity Reformed Church, 440 South Marshfield avenue.

"Come and preach to us some Sunday," wrote the preacher several months ago to Mr. Roosevelt. "I will fill your pulpit the next time I am in Chicago," was the reply. He arrived in Chicago on Saturday, and the next day, accompanied by Col. J. H. Strong, he drove to Trinity to keep his promise. The Rev. Mr. Moerdyke was in the act of announcing a hymn, when the then vice-president and Colonel Strong entered the

church. They took front seats. The reading of the hymn was postponed, and the preacher stepped down from the pulpit to greet his guests. A minute later the minister returned to the pulpit and announced that his regular sermon on "Christian Statesmen" would be postponed, and that Vice President Roosevelt would preach. "There is one thing I admire about Colonel Roosevelt more than all others," he continued; "he is a man of his word." The vice president did not preach doctrine, but he did deliver a lay sermon on "Be Ye Doers of the Word, Not Hearers Only," that was listened to with the closest attention. The afternoon of the same day he addressed the Gideons at the First Methodist Church, and was elected an honorary member of the association.

IDEAS OF HONESTY.

Mr. Roosevelt's ideas of honesty are well illustrated in the following story: It was during the time he conducted a cattle ranch in Wyoming. Riding about his ranch one day he noticed a maverick from a neighbor's ranch. A maverick is a beast which has not been branded. One of his cowboys began to tumble the maverick over, preparatory to branding it, when the following colloquy occurred:

Roosevelt—"What are you doing?"

Rustler—"Oh, I am just rustling."

Roosevelt—"Are you going to put my brand on that maverick?"

Rustler—"Yes."

Roosevelt—"You go up to the ranch house and get your time tonight. I don't want to have anything to do with you. If you will steal for me you will steal from me."

AS POLICE COMMISSIONER.

When police commissioner his methods were too rigorous to suit the policemen. He enlisted a regiment of enemies and his life was threatened. The sensational newspapers attacked him with bitter malice, a part even of his own board was against him, but he never wavered. He did his duty as he saw it, and refused to be influenced by any ulterior considerations. When the leading papers and influential citizens entered their protests, the characteristic Roosevelt answer came: "I am placed here to enforce the law as I find it. I shall enforce it. If you don't like it, repeal it."

THOUGHTS AS A BOY.

Julian Ralph once asked Mr. Roosevelt: "What did you expect to be or dream of being when you were a boy?"

"I do not recollect that I dreamed at all or planned at all," he

answered. "I simply obeyed the injunction, 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do that with all thy might,' so I took up what came along as it came. Since then I have gone on Lincoln's motto: 'Do the best; if not, then the best possible.'"

QUALITIES OF ROUGH RIDERS.

When Colonel Roosevelt set out to raise a regiment of rough riders he decided that he would make sure that every man enlisted possessed not only nerve, but staying qualities as well. His experience with one young westerner is a type of several. The young man was strong and husky enough, but there was a look in his face that the colonel took to be one lacking a continuity of purpose. He told the would-be recruit that the ranks were practically full and that he could not enlist him. The next day the young man returned to repeat his request to be enlisted. Again he was turned down. This proceeding was repeated for a week, the western youth never missing a day at the recruiting headquarters. The pertinacity of the boy finally interested the colonel.

"What did you say your name was?" asked Roosevelt on the eighth visit.

"Henry Johnson."

"Where do you come from?"

"Iowa."

"You want to enlist as a rough rider?"

"I do."

"How did you get here?"

"I walked some of the distance, stole rides part of the way, and paid my fare as far as possible."

"Can you ride a horse?"

"Yes."

"And shoot?"

"Yes."

"Well, you are the kind of man we are looking for. I did not like your appearance at first, but any man who will show as much zeal trying to get into the army deserves to be enlisted."

TRUE AMERICANISM.

Mr. Roosevelt was once asked for an opinion on what he termed true Americanism. The reply, which he incorporated in one of his books, is as follows:

"I have no wish to excuse or hide our faults, for I hold that he is often the best American who strives hardest to correct American shortcomings. Nevertheless, I am just as little disposed to give way to undue

pessimism as to undue and arrogant optimism. In speaking to my own countrymen, there is one point upon which I wish to lay special stress; that is the necessity for a feeling of broad, radical, intense Americanism if good work is to be done in any direction. Above all, the one essential for success in every political movement which is to do lasting good is that our citizens should act as Americans; not as Americans with a prefix and qualification—not as Irish-Americans, German-Americans, native Americans—but as Americans pure and simple."

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

A young man himself, President Roosevelt takes a keen interest in other young men, and is always ready with words of advice or encouragement. This is what he once wrote to a New Yorker:

"First and foremost, be American, heart and soul, and go in with any person, heedless of anything but that person's qualifications. For myself, I'd as quickly work beside Pat Dugan as with the last descendant of a patroon; it literally makes no difference to me so long as the work is good and the man is in earnest. One other thing I'd like to teach the young man of wealth: That he who has not got wealth owes his first duty to his family, but he who has means owes his first duty to his state. It is ignoble to try to heap money on money. I would preach the doctrine of work to all, and to the men of wealth the doctrine of unremunerative work."

LOVE OF ATHLETIC SPORTS.

Mr. Roosevelt as a boy was quite frail and puny. He was well along in his teens before his family ceased to worry about him. Once in college, however, he took to athletic sports as closely as he did to his books, and was soon a strong, healthy young man. His ranch life, after leaving college, still further developed him until he became as rugged and enduring as a man born and raised on the plains. Mr. Roosevelt was specially fond of boxing during his college days—the same as his boys are now—and has always kept in practice. During his term as governor he also took instructions in wrestling. William Carlin, one of the best-known athletes in New York and at one time a famous oarsman, was his teacher.

"He is a doughty little man," said Mr. Carlin one day after an hour in the gymnasium with the governor, "and can give any man plenty of exercise. The governor likes the catch-as-catch-can game, and is as quick as a flash in getting his holds, but he still clings to the favorite western style of wrestling—cross buttocks—and it is a hold that he uses most dexterously."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S CHILDREN

Ethel Theodore Alice Quentin Kermit Archibald

CORDIAL AND APPROACHABLE.

President Roosevelt is not only an approachable man, but he displays a cordiality toward people he meets that makes a lasting impression. When one is introduced to Mr. Roosevelt he cannot help feeling that he is an object of no little interest to him. The new acquaintance goes away feeling that the greeting was not one of mere formality. If he has had a story to tell the vice president he knows that it has been heard and absorbed. A new page at the state capitol took his first note to Roosevelt when governor with fear and trembling. Thoughts of the greatness of the man he was to see overwhelmed him. When he reappeared from the governor's office after delivering the note he was all smiles, and to another page he remarked enthusiastically: "Say, ain't Teddy a peach?" This is not a familiarity. That same boy would run seven miles for Mr. Roosevelt, and be willing to punch the boy who said anything disrespectful. He entered the governor's presence expecting to be overawed, he came out with the impression that he had known him for a long time and was glad of it.

INTEREST IN ANIMALS.

Mr. Roosevelt's interest in animals is almost as great as in man. He was walking from the capitol at Albany one day, accompanied by a friend, when he noticed two sturdy but tired horses striving to haul a heavy load up the ice-covered street. One slipped. Immediately Mr. Roosevelt stopped, and, with an absorbed expression on his face that he shows when deeply interested, watched the horse regain his feet. The horses stumbled again on the ice. "Stop a moment," Roosevelt said to the driver. "Drive sideways." The driver did not recognize the governor. He was about to say something unpleasant, when the governor caught his eye. Then the man zigzagged his horses up the hill past the ice with never a word. The grim look on Roosevelt's face disappeared just as quickly as it came, and the next minute he had tipped his hat to a little child who saluted in true military fashion.

TENACITY.

Roosevelt is by nature a fighter. He has all the stubborn tenacity that was inherited with his Dutch blood, coupled with almost a Celtic willingness to combat any one or anything, anyhow or anywhere he deems proper and necessary. When he fought against two parties to push through the bills giving Comptroller Coler the right to pass upon prices paid by departments for goods purchased and supervision in the confession of judgments, the leaders of his party came to him and said:

"Governor, you are building up a powerful rival to you for next fall."

"Maybe so," he replied, "but he is right, and he's going to have those bills if I can get them through for him." And he got them through.

Again, two of his best friends in the legislature, Speaker Nixon and Leader Allds, came to him and begged him not to force through the canal bill.

"It is suicide to do it," they pleaded, "for it will lose votes for you among the farmers and in the districts that elected you. It is ungrateful and extremely bad politics."

Roosevelt appreciated their argument and did not say they were wrong in presenting it. He simply shook his head and said: "You are right, but this is a case where the few must give way for the benefit of the many. I realize that it seems unjust to the farmers to be taxed for improvements that will bring produce from the West to compete with them, but the whole state must be considered, and this is in line with commercial progress. It must go through." And it went through.

While Roosevelt admires independence, he believes in organization, because he has the instincts of a soldier. But he is not a martinet, and has no faith in men who have not minds of their own. It was to Assemblymen Price and Morgan, of Brooklyn, two young legislators to whom he took a great fancy, that he said at the beginning of a session of the New York legislature: "If you choose to be cattle I must consult your driver. Be men and I want your advice."

He enjoyed his term as governor, among other reasons because it gave him so many hard fights. Just after his term had expired, with a chuckle that is as essentially a part of his make-up as his mysterious and famous smile, he said to a group of friends: "I've enjoyed being governor. Indeed, I believe I've had a run for my money. I've had a hot time, and I liked it."

Fighter though he is, Roosevelt does not fight unfairly. There have been governors who have forced votes in the legislature by threats to hold up the bills of recalcitrant senators or assemblymen. There were those even among the recognized reform element who argued that this was fair in war, and almost begged him to drive some of the senators into line on the Insurance Commissioner Payne matter. But he steadfastly refused. "These bills belong to their constituents and to the public," he said, "and I have no right to delay, much less to defeat them. As I cannot do this it is unfair to threaten them. I must win on the merits of the case itself or not at all. But I will win." Subsequently he had occasion to call sternly to account an over-zealous employe of the state who tried to help in just that way.

AN EXCITING OCCASION.

One of the most exciting of President Roosevelt's many experiences in the West was at Victor, Col., a year ago during the presidential cam-

paign. Roosevelt was making a trip through the West, and stopped at Victor to make a speech. As he was walking from his train to the meeting hall an attempt was made by a band of toughs to strike him down. One man hit him on the breast with a piece of scantling six feet long, from which an insulting democratic banner had been torn. Another rough aimed a blow at the colonel's head, and was ridden down by a miner named Holley. When the fighting was all over Roosevelt exclaimed enthusiastically: "This is bully; this is magnificent. Why, it's the best time I've had since I started. I wouldn't have missed it for anything."

A THRILLING LION HUNT.

One of Roosevelt's most thrilling lion hunts took place while he was stopping at the Keystone ranch in Colorado last April. Roosevelt and his guide held at bay a large lion in a crevice on the precipitous side of a rock ledge which extends from the point of the crevice sheer down sixty feet. Roosevelt shot at the lion, but it was dusk, and the beast disappeared under the rim of a perpendicular wall of rocks. A large rock stood loosely on the rim of the ledge, and the men saw that if it were possible to hang head first over this rock he would see the lion and might be able to shoot at it.

"The question," said the guide afterwards, "which confronted us was, How is it to be done? Finally, Colonel Roosevelt stood still a minute, looked at me intently, and said: 'Gofi, we must have that lion if he is there. I'll tell you what I'll do. I will take my gun and crawl over that rock; you hold me by the feet and allow me to slide down far enough to see him. If I can see him I will get him.' This plan was carried out, and he killed the lion hanging head downward while I held him by his feet."

CIVIL SERVICE.

President Roosevelt was succeeded on the civil-service commission by John B. Harlow, of St. Louis. Mr. Harlow has in his office many mementoes of Mr. Roosevelt's regime, one of the most interesting of which is a defense of the civil-service examinations by Roosevelt, given before one of the state committees.

Roosevelt was answering the assertion that the examinations were not fair tests of a man's knowledge and intellectual attainments. To the committee he said, with the directness and force which gave him much of his fame, that the examinations did indicate the fund of information possessed by applicants and he immediately cited examples of the answers made to the question, "Who was Lincoln?" in an examination conducted shortly before the time of the senate committee's investigation. In the answers it appears that Lincoln was a revolutionary general; he was

assassinated by Thomas Jefferson and was the assassin of Aaron Burr; he commanded a regiment in the French and Indian wars, and was an arctic explorer in a period immediately after the Civil War. The defense of the examinations by Roosevelt is full of such specific examples, showing that he had an intimate acquaintance with the results of the work in his office.

It was Roosevelt who first introduced the form of examinations now so generally used by the commission to discover the peculiar fitness or unfitness of applicants for special lines of work to which they are to be assigned. It came about in a series of examinations in which Texas and the Southwest were interested. It was proposed to place the mounted inspectors of the government along the Rio Grande, in Texas, under the civil-service rules. These inspectors are men of rare courage and must necessarily be skilled in handling cattle, familiar with the different kinds of cattle brands, and excellent horsemen. They have to deal with the cattle rustlers on the Mexican border. When Roosevelt saw the questions which had been prepared for these men, bearing on history, rhetoric and mathematics, he declared the proposed examinations would be farcical, and, calling to his aid his own familiarity with the cattle country and the plains, he drew up a set of questions for the inspectors. The only intellectual test was that which was made by requiring a man to answer the questions in his own words and handwriting. The questions were something of a shock to those who had been conducting the examinations in accordance with the old methods. One of the questions the men had to answer was this:

"State the experience, if any, you have had as a marksman with a rifle or a pistol; whether or not you have practiced shooting at a target with either weapon, or at game or other moving objects; and also whether you have practiced shooting on horseback. State the make of the rifle and revolver you ordinarily use."

Another of the questions read this way:

"State fully what experience you have had in horsemanship; whether or not you can ride unbroken horses; if not, whether you would be able, unassisted, to rope, bridle, saddle, mount and ride an ordinary cow pony after it had been turned loose for six months; also whether you can ride an ordinary cow pony on the round-up, both in circle riding and in cutting-out work around the herd."

Another question which Mr. Roosevelt framed was as to technical knowledge of the different brands of cattle in the cattle country, and it would be unintelligible to any but a cattle man or Roosevelt. When he submitted the question to his colleagues he declared that, to be a successful government inspector and shoot lawless Mexicans and prevent the

"running" of cattle over the border, it was not necessary for a man to discuss nebular hypotheses nor to have an intimate knowledge of the name and number of inhabitants of the capital of Zanzibar. In all sincerity, he told his colleagues that he would like to make another requirement, and that was that each applicant be made to appear before those in charge of the examinations and lasso, throw and tie a steer in twenty minutes, but as he himself did not have time to preside at such feature of the examination he had left that out. That was the beginning of the practical methods of examinations by the civil-service commission, which have been followed up by Mr. Harlow and his colleagues on the commission until the scholastic element in the examinations has disappeared almost entirely, and they are now designed solely to establish the practical fitness that applicants have for the lines of work to which they are to be assigned.

FRIENDLINESS.

As Colonel Roosevelt was walking up Delaware avenue in Buffalo one day last week he passed an ancient negro raking leaves out of the grass between the sidewalk and the curb. The negro took off his hat and bowed low.

"Please, sir, Mr. Roosevelt," he said, "I'd like to shake hands with you, sir."

As he grasped the vice president's outstretched hand he added:

"Look out they don't get you, Mr. Vice-President."

"Thank you," said Colonel Roosevelt, and started on.

Two men in overalls had stopped to watch his meeting with the negro, and as he turned to go on they stepped up to him, too, with their hands stretched out.

The colonel shook hands with them both and thanked them for their greetings.

"Ain't you afraid when a fellow comes up to you in the street like this?" asked one of them.

"Not a bit of it, sir," replied Colonel Roosevelt, with all his usual energy of utterance, "and I hope the time will never come when an officer of this government will be afraid to meet his fellow citizens in the street. The men of this country, all the people, are the guardians of the men they have elected to public office. If anything, the lives of the officers of the government are safer now than before that thing was done at the exposition the other day. Tell me," he asked, with a smile which showed his confidence that he would get a negative answer, "did it ever occur to either of you that violence would do any of our people any good?"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Theodore Roosevelt. Addresses, and Tributes to His Character.

SPEECH BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT BEFORE THE HAMILTON CLUB, CHICAGO, APRIL 11, 1899.

FAMOUS LEADER OF THE "ROUGH RIDERS" ADDRESSES THE ASSEMBLAGE ON "THE STRENUOUS LIFE."

Governor Roosevelt was the central figure and chief speaker of the banquet. His address on "The Strenuous Life," to deliver which he came here from Albany, is printed in full as follows:

"In speaking to you, men of the greatest city of the West, men of the State which gave to the country Lincoln and Grant, men who preeminently and distinctly embody all that is most American in the American character, I wish to preach not the doctrine of ignoble ease but the doctrine of the strenuous life; the life of toil and effort; of labor and strife; to preach that highest form of success which comes not to the man who desires mere easy peace but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph.

"A life of ignoble ease, a life of that peace which springs merely from lack either of desire or of power to strive after great things, is as little worthy of a nation as of an individual. I ask only that what every self-respecting American demands from himself, and from his sons, shall be demanded of the American nation as a whole. Who among you would teach your boys that ease, that peace is to be the first consideration in your eyes—to be the ultimate goal after which they strive? You men of Chicago have made this city great, you men of Illinois have done your share, and more than your share, in making America great, because you neither preach nor practice such a doctrine. You work yourselves, and you bring up your sons to work. If you are rich and are worth your salt, you will teach your sons that though they may have leisure, it is not to be spent in idleness; for wisely used leisure merely means that those who possess it, being free from the necessity of working for their livelihood, are all the more bound to carry on some kind of non-remunerative work in science, in letters, in art, in exploration, in histori-

cal research—work of the type we most need in this country, the successful carrying out of which reflects most honor upon the nation.

ADMIRE VICTORIOUS EFFORT.

"We do not admire the man of timid peace. We admire the man who embodies victorious effort; the man who never wrongs his neighbor; who is prompt to help a friend; but who has those virile qualities necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life. It is hard to fail; but it is worse never to have tried to succeed. In this life we get nothing save by effort. Freedom from effort in the present, merely means that there has been stored up effort in the past. A man can be freed from the necessity of work only by the fact that he or his fathers before him have worked to good purpose. If the freedom thus purchased is used aright, and the man still does actual work, though of a different kind, whether as a writer or a general, whether in the field of politics or in the field of exploration and adventure, he shows he deserves his good fortune. But if he treats this period of freedom from the need of actual labor as a period not of preparation but of mere enjoyment, he shows that he is simply a cumberer on the earth's surface; and he surely unfits himself to hold his own with his fellows if the need to do so should again arise. A mere life of ease is not in the end a satisfactory life, and above all it is a life which ultimately unfits those who follow it for serious work in the world.

NATION WITH GLORIOUS HISTORY.

"As it is with the individual so it is with the nation. It is a base untruth to say that happy is the nation that has no history. Thrice happy is the nation that has a glorious history. Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much because they live in the gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat. If in 1861 the men who loved the Union had believed that peace was the end of all things and war and strife the worst of all things and had acted up to their belief, we would have saved hundreds of thousands of lives, we would have saved hundreds of millions of dollars. Moreover, besides saving all the blood and treasure we then lavished, we would have prevented the heart-break of many women, the dissolution of many homes; and we would have spared the country those months of gloom and shame when it seemed as if our armies marched only to defeat. We could have avoided all this suffering simply by shrinking from strife. And if we had thus avoided it we would have shown that we were weaklings and that we were unfit to stand among the great nations

of the earth. Thank God for the iron in the blood of our fathers, the men who upheld the wisdom of Lincoln and bore sword or rifle in the armies of Grant! Let us, the children of the men who proved themselves equal to the mighty days—let us, the children of the men who carried the great civil war to a triumphant conclusion, praise the God of our fathers that the ignoble counsels of peace were rejected, that the suffering and loss, the blackness of sorrow and despair, were unflinchingly faced and the years of strife endured; for in the end the slave was freed, the Union restored, and the mighty American republic placed once more as a helmeted queen among nations.

THIS AGE HAS ITS TASKS.

"We of this generation do not have to face a task such as that our fathers faced, but we have our tasks, and woe to us if we fail to perform them! We cannot, if we would, play the part of China, and be content to rot by inches in ignoble ease within our borders, taking no interest in what goes on beyond them; sunk in a scrambling commercialism; heedless of the higher life, the life of aspiration, of toil and risk; busying ourselves only with the wants of our bodies for the day; until suddenly we should find, beyond a shadow of question, what China has already found, that in this world the nation that has trained itself to a career of unwarlike and isolated ease is bound in the end to go down before other nations which have not lost the manly and adventurous qualities. If we are to be a really great people, we must strive in good faith to play a great part in the world. We cannot avoid meeting great issues. All that we can determine for ourselves is whether we shall meet them well or ill. Last year we could not help being brought face to face with the problem of war with Spain. All we could decide was whether we should shrink like cowards from the contest or enter into it as beseemed a brave and high-spirited people; and, once in, whether failure or success should crown our banners. So it is now. We cannot avoid the responsibilities that confront us in Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. All we can decide is whether we shall meet them in a way that will redound to the national credit, or whether we shall make our dealings with these new problems a dark and shameful page in our history. To refuse to deal with them at all merely amounts to dealing with them badly. We have a given problem to solve. It we undertake the solution there is, of course, always danger that we may not solve it aright, but to refuse to undertake the solution simply renders it certain that we cannot possibly solve it aright.

THOSE WHO SHRINK NOW.

"The timid man, the lazy man, the man who distrusts his country,

the overcivilized man, who has lost the great fighting, masterful virtues, the ignorant man and the man of dull mind, whose soul is incapable of feeling the mighty lift that thrills 'stern men with empires in their brains'—all these, of course, shrink from seeing the nation undertake its new duties; shrink from seeing us build a navy and army adequate to our needs; shrink from seeing us do our share of the world's work by bringing order out of chaos in the great, fair tropic islands from which the valor of our soldiers and sailors has driven the Spanish flag. These are the men who fear the strenuous life, who fear the only national life which is really worth leading. They believe in that cloistered life which saps the hardy virtues in a nation, as it saps them in the individual; or else they are wedded to that base spirit of gain and greed which recognizes in commercialism the be-all and end-all of national life, instead of realizing that, though an indispensable element, it is after all but one of the many elements that go to make up true national greatness. No country can long endure if its foundations are not laid deep in the material prosperity which comes from thrift, from business energy and enterprise, from hard, unsparing effort in the fields of industrial activity; but neither was any nation ever yet truly great if it relied upon material prosperity alone. All honor must be paid to the architects of our material prosperity; to the great captains of industry who have built our factories and our railroads; to the strong men who toil for wealth with brain or hand; for great is the debt of the nation to these and their kind. But our debt is yet greater to the men whose highest type is to be found in a statesman like Lincoln, a soldier like Grant. They showed by their lives that they recognized the law of work, the law of strife; they toiled to win a competence for themselves and those dependent upon them; but they recognized that there were yet other and even loftier duties—duties to the nation and duties to the race.

"We cannot sit huddled within our own borders and avow ourselves merely an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing for what happens beyond. Such a policy would defeat even its own end; for as the nations grow to have ever wider and wider interests and are brought into closer and closer contact, if we are to hold our own in the struggle for naval and commercial supremacy, we must build up our power without our own borders. We must build the isthmian canal, and we must grasp the points of vantage which will enable us to have our say in deciding the destiny of the oceans of the East and the West.

FROM STANDPOINT OF HONOR.

"So much for the commercial side. From the standpoint of international honor, the argument is even stronger. The guns that thundered

off Manila and Santiago left us echoes of glory, but they also left us a legacy of duty. If we drove out a mediæval tyranny only to make room for savage anarchy, we had better not have begun the task at all. It is worse than idle to say that we have no duty to perform and can leave to their fates the islands we have conquered. Such a course would be the course of infamy. It would be followed at once by utter chaos in the wretched islands themselves. Some stronger, manlier power would have to step in and do the work; and we would have shown ourselves weaklings, unable to carry to successful completion the labors that great and high-spirited nations are eager to undertake.

"The work must be done. We cannot escape our responsibility, and if we are worth our salt, we shall be glad of the chance to do the work—glad of the chance to show ourselves equal to one of the great tasks set modern civilization. But let us not deceive ourselves as to the importance of the task. Let us not be misled by vain-glory into underestimating the strain it will put on our powers. Above all, let us, as we value our own self-respect, face the responsibilities with proper seriousness, courage and high resolve. We must demand the highest order of integrity and ability in our public men who are to grapple with these new problems. We must hold to a rigid accountability those public servants who show unfaithfulness to the interests of the nation or inability to rise to the high level of the new demands upon our strength and our own resources.

WISDOM IN BUILDING NAVY.

"Of course, we must remember not to judge any public servant by any one act, and especially should we beware of attacking the men who are merely the occasions and not the causes of disaster. Let me illustrate what I mean by the army and the navy. If twenty years ago we had gone to war, we should have found the navy as absolutely unprepared as the army. At that time our ships could not have encountered with success the fleets of Spain any more than nowadays we can put untrained soldiers, no matter how brave, who are armed with archaic black-powder weapons, against well-drilled regulars armed with the highest type of modern repeating rifle. But in the early '80s the attention of the nation became directed to our naval needs. Congress most wisely made a series of appropriations to build up a new navy, and under a succession of able and patriotic secretaries, of both political parties, the navy was gradually built up, until its material became equal to its splendid personnel, with the result that last summer it leaped to its proper place as one of the most brilliant and formidable fighting navies in the entire world. We rightly pay all honor to the men controlling the navy at the time it did these great deeds honor to Secretary Long and Admiral Dewey, to the cap-

tains who handled ships in action, to the daring Lieutenants who braved death in the smaller craft, and to the heads of bureaus at Washington who saw that the ships were so commanded, so armed, so equipped, so well engined, as to insure the best results. But let us also keep ever in mind that all of this would not have availed if it had not been for the wisdom of the men who during the preceding fifteen years had built up the navy. Keep in mind the secretaries of the navy during those years; keep in mind the senators and congressmen who by their votes gave the money necessary to build and to armor the ships, to construct the great guns, to train the crews; remember also those who actually did build the ships, the armor, and the guns; and remember the admirals and captains who handled battleship, cruiser and torpedo boat on the high seas, alone and in squadrons, developing the seamanship, the gunnery, and the power of acting together, which their successors utilized so gloriously at Manila and off Santiago.

REMEMBER THOSE WHO PULLED BACK.

"And, gentlemen, remember the converse, too. Remember that justice has two sides. Be just to those who built up the navy, and for the sake of the future of the country keep in mind those who opposed its building up. Read the Congressional Record. Find out the senators and congressmen who opposed the grants for building new ships, who opposed the purchase of armor, without which the ships were worthless; who opposed any adequate maintenance for the navy department, and strove to cut down the number of men necessary to man our fleets. The men who did these things were one and all working to bring disaster on the country. They have no share in the glory of Manila, in the honor of Santiago. They have no cause to feel proud of the valor of our sea captains, of the renown of our flag. Their motives may or may not have been good, but their acts were heavily fraught with evil. They did ill for the national honor; and we won in spite of their sinister opposition.

"Now, apply all this to our public men of to-day. Our army has never been built up as it should be built up. I shall not discuss with an audience like this the puerile suggestion that a nation of seventy millions of freemen is in danger of losing its liberties from the existence of an army of 100,000 men, three-fourths of whom will be employed in certain foreign islands, in certain coast fortresses, and on Indian reservations. No man of good sense and stout heart can take such a proposition seriously. If we are such weaklings as the proposition implies, then we are unworthy of freedom in any event. To no body of men in the United States is the country so much indebted as

to the splendid officers and enlisted men of the regular army and navy; there is no body from which the country has less to fear; and none of which it should be prouder, none which it should be more anxious to upbuild.

NEEDS OF THE ARMY.

"Our army needs complete reorganization—not merely enlarging—and the reorganization can only come as the result of legislation. A proper general staff should be established, and the positions of ordnance, commissary, and quartermaster officers should be filled by detail from the line. Above all, the army must be given a chance to exercise in large bodies. Never again should we see, as we saw in the Spanish war, major generals in command of divisions who had never before commanded three companies together in the field. Yet, incredible to relate, the recent congress has shown a queer inability to learn some of the lessons of the war. There were large bodies of men in both branches who opposed the declaration of war, who opposed the ratification of peace, who opposed the upbuilding of the army, and who even opposed the purchase of armor at a reasonable price for the battleships and cruisers, thereby putting an absolute stop to the building of any new fighting ships for the navy. If during the years to come any disaster should befall our arms, afloat or ashore, and thereby any shame come to the United States, remember that the blame will lie upon the men whose names appear upon the roll calls of congress on the wrong side of these great questions. On them will lie the burden of any loss of our soldiers and sailors, of any dishonor to the flag; and upon you and the people of this county will lie the blame, if you do not repudiate, in no unmistakable way, what these men have done. The blame will not rest upon the untrained commander of untried troops; upon the civil officers of a department, the organization of which has been left utterly inadequate; or upon the admiral with insufficient number of ships; but upon the public men who have so lamentably failed in forethought as to refuse to remedy these evils long in advance, and upon the nation that stands behind those public men.

BLAME IN THE PRESENT HOUR.

"So at the present hour no small share of the responsibility for the blood shed in the Philippines, the blood of our brothers and the blood of their wild and ignorant foes, lies at the thresholds of those who so long delayed in the adoption of the treaty of peace, and of those who by their worse than foolish words deliberately invited a savage people to plunge into a war fraught with such disaster for them—a war,

too, in which our own brave men, who follow the flag must pay with their blood for the silly, mock-humanitarianism of the prattlers who sit at home in peace.

"The army and navy are the swords and the shield which this nation must carry if she is to do her duty among the nations of the earth—if she is not to stand merely as the China of the Western hemisphere. Our proper conduct toward the tropic islands we have wrested from Spain is merely the form which our duty has taken at the moment. Of course, we are bound to handle the affairs of our own household well. We must see that there is civic honesty, civic cleanliness, civic good sense in our home administration of city, state and nation. We must strive for honesty in office, for honesty towards the creditors of the nation and of the individual; for the widest freedom of individual initiative where possible, and for the wisest control of individual initiative where it is hostile to the welfare of the many. But because we set our own household in order, we are not thereby excused from playing our part in the great affairs of the world. A man's first duty is to his own home, but he is not thereby excused from doing his duty to the state; for if he fails in this second duty it is under the penalty of ceasing to be a freeman. In the same way, while a nation's first duty is within its own borders, it is not thereby absolved from facing its duties in the world as a whole; and if it refuses to do so it merely forfeits its right to struggle for a place among the peoples that shape the destiny of mankind."

THE AMERICAN NEED OF A STRONG NAVY.

ADDRESS ON LINCOLN DAY, NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 13, 1898.

Mr. Roosevelt said:

"Fifteen years ago we had no stand whatever among the naval nations. At that time we ranked below Spain and Chili as a naval power. Now our navy has been built up until it can fairly claim to be about a tie with that of Germany for fifth place. It is as yet by no means as large as it should be, and to lie supine and let other nations pass us when we have made so good a start would be one of those blunders which are worse than crimes. We have only made a beginning; but it is a good beginning, and has been well made. Already the new navy has made its influence most powerfully felt for good in national affairs. It was to the existence of this navy that we owed the escape of the war with Chili seven years ago. It is the existence of the navy now which more than anything else prevents the chance of any foreign war; prevents it because the surest way to avert a fight is to show that one is ready and able to fight should the need arise.

"The navy is pre-eminently the arm of the government on which we must rely in carrying out the traditional policy of the United States. There are among us, unhappily, many men who, though perhaps good honest citizens in the ordinary relations of life, are either cursed with the curse of timidity or else are afflicted with parochial minds, so that they are unable to look at anything save from the parochial standpoint. I believe that great good comes to the country from the scholar, and that good also comes to the country from the man of wealth; but the timid scholar who judges of the actual strife of living only from his standpoint in the cloister, and the man of wealth who get to think of nothing but wealth, and to regard the unsettling of the stock market as outweighing the upholding of national honor—these show themselves thoroughly undesirable citizens, in spite of the fact that they may be excellent men in their family relations, and many perform their ordinary civic duties honorably. So it is with the good people with parochial minds; the people who cannot understand that a great country must, whether it will or no, have a foreign policy, and that after all there is some nobler ideal for a great nation than that of being an assemblage of prosperous hucksters. In the fate of China today the shrill advocates of unintelligent peacefulness should see a grim object lesson.

"Let me again repeat that the right arm of the nation in carrying out any foreign policy is the navy. It is of course true that we need ample coast fortifications; the last things in which we can afford to economize are forts and ships, for such economy implies the possibility of overwhelming national disaster; but though we need the forts, we need the ships even more. The surest way to prevent an opponent's blow is by striking, not by parrying. Forts would be of great value in war, but they would not avert war, for no nation would be afraid of them, as forts are never offensive; but a powerful navy would act as a deterrent to any nation inclined to go to war with us. If we have a great fighting fleet, a fleet of vessels such as we now have, manned by officers and crews like those which now man them, but in point of numbers rising more nearly to equality with the greatness of our people; if we have such a fleet, capable, of offensive no less than of defensive work, there will be small chance that our people will be forced to fight, and still smaller chance that we will not emerge from any war immeasurably the gainer in honor and renown."

In harmony with these ideas, it is semi-officially reported that President Roosevelt has stated that the navy of the United States must be increased at a rate that will keep it equal at least to that of Germany and Russia, and, if possible, to bring it close to that of France, if not equal to it. This is, perhaps, the most important statement of a public policy yet made by the President.

It is for President Roosevelt to decide how great an addition will be made to the present naval program of construction.

In discussing some of the various questions that confronted him, and would call for executive consideration, the President referred to the necessity of maintaining a navy compatible with the wonderful advances in commercial lines, and that with the opening of the new markets and the influence gained by this country abroad, the advisability of a stronger sea force would be inevitable.

FEW GOOD FIGHTING SHIPS.

The President referred to the small number of fighting ships at the beginning of the Spanish war, and incidentally said had Germany struck at this country with our fleets so widely separated, the supremacy of our sea power would have been seriously threatened, if not destroyed.

The bureau chief has recommended the purchase of nearly one million dollars' worth of smokeless powder.

Heavy amounts for work on the big guns building here.

Better facilities to maintain the present navy in repair.

The equipment bureau will ask for large sums.

New batteries for a number of the older ships will call for thousands of dollars.

Additional torpedo boats are believed to be necessary, as well as battleships and armored cruisers.

The later type of vessel being the swifter, is regarded by many officers as being more necessary than battleships.

The first message of the President to congress will doubtless deal with the important subject.

THE ROUGH RIDERS.

Address of Governor Theodore Roosevelt at Las Vegas, N. M., June 23, 1899:

"Just at this time I would not have left New York state for any purpose save to attend the reunion of my old regiment, and for that purpose I would have gone to Alaska or anywhere else, for the bond that unites us to one another is as close as any bond of human friendship can be. It was our good fortune to be among those accepted when the country called to arms a year ago last spring, and when ten men volunteered for every one that could be chosen. I think I may say without boasting that the regiment did its duty in every way and that its record is a subject for honorable pride not only to the members themselves but to the country at large.

"I am proud of you because you never complained and never flinched.

When you went to war you knew you would not have an easy time; you expected to encounter hardships and you took them without a murmur. You were all readiness to learn and to show that prompt obedience, which makes it possible to turn the American volunteer so soon into a first-class type of fighting man.

"Of those of our number who landed for the brief campaign in the tropical midsummer against Santiago one-fourth were killed or wounded and three-fourths of the remainder were at one time or another stricken down by fever. Many died. But there is not one among you so poor in spirit that he does not count fever, wounds and death itself as nothing compared with the honor of having been able to serve with the regiment under the flag of the United States in one of the most righteous wars which this century has seen.

TYPICAL AMERICAN REGIMENT.

"This was a typical American regiment. The majority of its members came from the Southwest, but not all. We had in our ranks Easterners, Westerners, Northerners, Southerners, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Gentiles—men whose parents were born in Germany or Ireland, and men whose parents were born on the banks of the James, the Hudson or at Plymouth Rock nearly three centuries ago; and all were Americans in heart and soul, in spirit and purpose—Americans and nothing else. We knew no distinction of creed, birthplace or residence. All we cared for was that a man should do his duty, should show himself alert, patient and enduring; good in camp and on the march, and valiant in battle.

"My comrades, the regiment was but a microcosm of our great country, and the principles which enabled us to make so much out of it are those upon which we must act in the nation itself if we are to stand level to the needs of our mighty destiny. In administering this great country we must know no North, South, East or West; we must pay no heed to a man's creed; we must be indifferent as to whether he is rich or poor; provided only he is indeed a good man, a good citizen, a good American.

"In our political and social life alike, in order to permanently succeed, we must base our conduct on the decalogue and the golden rule. We must put in practice those homely virtues for the lack of which no intellectual brilliancy, no material prosperity, can ever atone. It is a good thing for a nation to be rich, but it is a better thing for a nation to be the mother of men who possess the qualities of honesty, of courage and of common sense.

"We have many great problems ahead of us, we Americans, as we stride along the road to national greatness—problems of home adminis-

TEMPLE OF MUSIC.

tration and problems that affect our dealings with the outside world. We cannot solve them if we approach them in a spirit of levity or vainglorious boastfulness; still less if we approach them in a spirit of timidity; and least of all if in dealing with them we do not insist upon honesty and righteousness, upon that uprightness of character which is the keystone in the arch of true national greatness. The problems that rise from year to year differ widely, and must be met in widely different ways; but not one of them can be properly solved unless we approach it with a resolute fearlessness and with a sincere purpose to do justice to all men, exacting it from others, and exacting it no less from ourselves.

PROUD OF HIS MEN.

"I am proud of the way in which you have taken up the broken threads of your lives—in which you have gone back to the farm, the ranch, the mine, the factory and the counting room. In so doing you show yourselves to be typical American citizens, for it has always been the pride of our country that an American, while most earnestly desirous of peace, was ever ready to show himself a hard and dangerous fighter if need should rise, and that, on the other hand, when once the need had passed, he could prove that war had not hurt him for the work of peace, and that he was all the fitter to do this work for having done the other, too.

"We may be called to war but once in a generation (and I most earnestly hope that we shall not have to face war again for many years), but the duties of peace are always with us, and these we must perform all our lives long, from year's end to year's end, if we are to prove ourselves in fact good citizens of the commonwealth. We must work hard for the sake of those dependent upon us; we must see that our children are brought up in a way that will make them worthy of the great inheritance which we, their fathers, have ourselves received from those that went before us. We must do our duty by the state. We must frown upon dishonesty and corruption, and war for honesty and righteousness.

"I am proud of you, my comrades, not only because you were brave in battle, but because when once the battle was over you showed yourselves always merciful to the weak. A coward in your ranks would have received short shrift indeed; but when once the battle was won I never knew one of you to perform an act of cruelty. I shall ever keep in mind the valor you showed as you fought in the jungles of Las Guasimas, as you charged up the slopes of the San Juan hills; and I shall keep in mind no less the way in which you shared your scanty rations with the poor miserable refugees at El Caney, the way in which you tried to help the women and children upon whom war had laid its heavy hand. In

our regiment the man who flinched from an armed foe and the man who wronged a woman or a child would have met with equally quick and grim justice.

TRIBUTE TO THE ABSENT.

"Let me say a word of those to whom our thoughts should turn at such a time, both among the living and among the dead. To our absent living comrades, and especially to our former commander, now Major General Leonard Wood, whose administration of the Province of Santiago has reflected such high credit not merely upon himself, but upon the nation so fortunate as to have him in her service, we send the heartiest and most loyal greetings. With these men we hope in the not distant future to strike hands again, and as long as we live and they live we shall all be bound together by the most indissoluble of ties.

"But when we come to speak of our dead comrades, of the men who gave their lives in the fierce rush of the jungle fighting, or who wasted to death in the fever camps, we can only stand with bared heads and pray that we may so live as at the end to die as worthily as these, our brothers, died.

"Allen Capron, in the sunny prime of youth, in his courage, his strength, and his beauty; 'Bucky' O'Neill, than whom in all the army there breathed no more dauntless soul—of these and our other gallant comrades, the men who carried the rifles in the ranks, all we can say is that they proved their truth by their endeavor; that in the hour of the nation's need they rose level to the need, and quietly and cheerfully gave to their country the utmost that any man can give—their lives. We read in holy writ 'that greater love hath no man than this, to lay down his life for his friend.' And these men so loved their country that they gallantly gave their lives for her honor and renown and for the uplifting of the human race.

"Now their work is over, their eyes are closed forever, their bodies molder in the dust, but the spirit that was in them cannot die, and it shall live for time everlasting.

ADDRESS AT MINNEAPOLIS STATE FAIR, MINNEAPOLIS, SEPTEMBER 2, 1901.

"In his admirable series of studies of twentieth century problems Dr. Lyman Abbott has pointed out that we are a nation of pioneers; that the first colonists to our shores were pioneers, and that pioneers selected out from among the descendants of these early pioneers, mingled with others selected afresh from the old world, pushed westward into the wilderness and laid the foundations for new commonwealths.

"They were men of hope and expectation, of enterprise and energy; for the men of dull content or more dull despair had no part in the great movement into and across the new world.

"Our country has been populated by pioneers, and therefore it has in it more energy, more enterprise, more expansive power than any other in the wide world.

"You whom I am now addressing stand for the most part but one generation removed from these pioneers. You are typical Americans, for you have done the great, the characteristic, the typical work of our American life. In making homes and carving out careers for yourselves and your children you have built up this state; throughout our history the success of the homemaker has been but another name for the upbuilding of the nation.

MEN WHO HAVE MADE THE COUNTRY.

"The men who, with ax in the forest and pick in the mountains and plow on the prairies, pushed to completion the dominion of our people over the American wilderness, have given the definite shape to our nation. They have shown the qualities of daring endurance, and farsightedness, of eager desire for victory and stubborn refusal to accept defeat, which go to make up the essential manliness of the American character. Above all they have recognized in practical form the fundamental law of success in American life—the law of worthy work, the law of high, resolute endeavor.

"We have but little room among our people for the timid, the irresolute, and the idle; and it is no less true that there is scant room in the world at large for the nation with mighty thews that dares not to be great.

"Surely in speaking of the sons of men who actually did the rough and hard and infinitely glorious work of making the great Northwest what it now is, I need hardly insist upon the righteousness of this doctrine. In your own vigorous lives you show by every act how scant is your patience with those who do not see in the life of effort the life supremacy worth living.

IDLE NOT TO BE ENVIED.

"Sometimes we hear those who do not work spoken of with envy. Surely the willfully idle need arouse in the breast of a healthy man no emotion stronger than that of angry contempt. The feeling of envy would have in it an admission of inferiority on our part, to which the men who know not the sterner joys of life are not entitled.

"Poverty is a bitter thing, but it is not as bitter as the existence of restless vacuity and physical, moral, and intellectual flabbiness to which those doom themselves who elect to spend all their years in that vainest of all vain pursuits, the pursuit of mere pleasure, as a sufficient end in itself.

"The willfully idle man, like the willfully barren woman, has no place in a sane, healthy, and vigorous community. Moreover, the gross and hideous selfishness for which each stands defeats even its own miserable aims. Exactly as infinitely the happiest woman is she who has borne and brought up many healthy children, so infinitely the happiest man is he who has toiled hard and successfully in his life work.

HONEST WORK BEST FOR ALL.

"The work may be done in a thousand different ways; with the brain or the hands, in the study, the field, or the workshop; if it is honest work, honestly done, and well worth doing, that is all we have a right to ask.

"Every father and mother here if they are wise, will bring up their children not to shirk difficulties, but to meet and overcome them; not to strive after a life of ignoble ease, but to strive to do their duty, first to themselves and their families, and then to the whole state; and this duty must inevitably take the shape of work in some form or other.

"You, the sons of pioneers, if you are true to your ancestry, must make your lives as worthy as they made theirs. They sought for true success, and, therefore, they did not seek ease. They knew that success comes only to those who lead the life of endeavor.

"It seems to me that the simple acceptance of this fundamental fact of American life, this acknowledgment that the law of work is the fundamental law of our being, will help us to start aright in facing not a few of the problems that confront us from without and from within.

"As regards internal affairs, it should teach us the prime need of remembering that, after all has been said and done, the chief factor in any man's success or failure must be his own character; that is, the sum of his common sense, his courage, his virile energy and capacity. Nothing can take the place of this individual factor.

MUST BE HARMONY OF EFFORT.

"I do not for a moment mean that much cannot be done to supplement it. Besides each one of us working individually, all of us have

got to work together. We cannot possibly do our best work as a nation unless all of us know how to act in combination as well as how to act each individually for himself. The acting in combination can take many forms; but, of course, its most effective form must be when it comes in the shape of law; that is, of action by the community as a whole through the law-making body.

"But it is not possible ever to insure prosperity merely by law. Something for good can be done by law, and bad laws can do an infinity of mischief; but, after all, the best law can only prevent wrong and injustice and give to the thrifty, the far-seeing, and the hard-working a chance to exercise to the best advantage their special and peculiar abilities.

"No hard and fast rule can be laid down as to where our legislation shall stop in interfering between man and man, between interest and interest.

"All that can be said is that it is highly undesirable on the one hand to weaken individual initiative, and on the other hand that, in a constantly increasing number of cases, we shall find it necessary in the future to shackle cunning as in the past we have shackled force.

LAWS SHOULD GUARD WAGE EARNERS.

"It is not only highly desirable, but necessary, that there should be legislation which shall carefully shield the interests of wageworkers, and which shall discriminate in favor of the honest and humane employer by removing the disadvantage under which he stands when compared with unscrupulous competitors who have no conscience, and will do right only under fear of punishment.

"Nor can legislation stop only with what are termed labor questions. The vast individual and corporate fortunes, the vast combinations of capital, which have marked the development of our industrial system, create new conditions and necessitate a change from the old attitude of the state and nation toward property.

"It is probably true that the large majority of the fortunes that now exist in this country have been amassed, not by injuring our people, but as an incident to the conferring of great benefits upon the community; and this, no matter what may have been the conscious purpose of those amassing them.

"There is but the scantiest justification for most of the outcry against the men of wealth as such; and it ought to be unnecessary to state that any appeal which directly or indirectly leads to suspicion and hatred among ourselves, which tends to limit opportunity, and, there-

fore, to shut the door of success against poor men of talent, and, finally, which entails the possibility of lawlessness and violence, is an attack upon the fundamental properties of American citizenship.

INTERESTS OF EVERYONE THE SAME.

"Our interests are at bottom common; in the long run we go up or go down together.

"Yet more and more it is evident that the state, and, if necessary, the nation, has got to possess the right of supervision and control as regards the great corporations which are its creatures; particularly as regards the great business combinations which derive a portion of their importance from the existence of some monopolistic tendency.

"The right should be exercised with caution and self-restraint, but it should exist, so that it may be invoked if the need arises.

"So much for our duties, each to himself and each to his neighbor, within the limits of our own country. But our country, as it strides forward with ever-increasing rapidity to a foremost place among the world powers, must necessarily find, more and more, that it has world duties also.

NO ONE CAN SHIRK HIS DUTY.

"There are excellent people who believe that we can shirk these duties and yet retain our self-respect; but these good people are in error. Other good people seek to deter us from treading the path of hard but lofty duty by bidding us remember that all nations that have achieved greatness, that have expanded and played their part as world powers, have in the end passed away. So they have; so have all others. The weak and the stationary have vanished as surely as, and more rapidly than, those whose citizens felt within them the lift that impels generous souls to great and noble effort.

"This is another way of stating the universal law of death, which is itself part of the universal law of life. The man who works, the man who does great deeds, in the end dies as surely as the veriest idler who cumbers the earth's surface; but he leaves behind him the great fact that he has done his work well. So it is with nations. While the nation that has dared to be great, that has had the will and the power to change the destiny of the ages, in the end must die; yet no less surely the nation that has played the part of the weakling must also die; and, whereas the nation that has done nothing leaves nothing behind it, the nation that has done a great work really continues, though in changed form, forevermore. The Roman has passed away, exactly as all nations of

antiquity which did not expand when he expanded have passed away; but their very memory has vanished, while he himself is still a living force throughout the wide world in our entire civilization of today, and will so continue through countless generations, through untold ages.

BELIEF IN COUNTRY'S GREATNESS.

"It is because we believe with all our heart and soul in the greatness of this country, because we feel the thrill of hardy life in our veins, and are confident that to us is given the privilege of playing a leading part in the century that has just opened, that we hail with eager delight the opportunity to do whatever task Providence may allot us.

"We admit with all sincerity that our first duty is within our own household; that we must not merely talk, but act, in favor of cleanliness and decency and righteousness, in all political, social and civic matters. No prosperity and no glory can save a nation that is rotten at heart. We must ever keep the core of our national being sound, and see to it that not only our citizens in private life but above all, our statesmen in public life, practice the old, commonplace virtues which from time immemorial have lain at the root of all true national well-being.

"Yet, while this is our first duty, it is not our whole duty. Exactly as each man, while doing first his duty to his wife and the children within his home, must yet, if he hopes to amount to much, strive mightily in the world outside his home, so our nation, while first of all seeing to its own domestic well-being, must not shrink from playing its part among the great nations without.

NATIONAL NEEDS EVER CHANGING.

"Our duty may take many forms in the future, as it has taken many forms in the past. Nor is it possible to lay down a hard and fast rule for all cases. We must ever face the fact of our shifting national needs, of the always changing opportunities that present themselves. But we may be certain of one thing: whether we wish it or not, we cannot avoid hereafter having duties to do in the face of other nations. All that we can do is to settle whether we shall perform these duties well or ill.

"Right here let me make as vigorous a plea as I know how in favor of saying nothing that we do not mean, and of acting without hesitation up to whatever we say.

"A good many of you are probably acquainted with the old proverb: 'Speak softly and carry a big stick—you will go far.' If a man con-

tinually blusters, if he lacks civility, a big stick will not save him from trouble; and neither will speaking softly avail, if back of the softness there does not lie strength, power. In private life there are few beings more obnoxious than the man who is always loudly boasting, and if the boaster is not prepared to back up his words his position becomes absolutely contemptible.

SELF-GLORIFICATION UNDIGNIFIED.

"So it is with the nation. It is both foolish and undignified to indulge in undue self-glorification, and above all in loose-tongued denunciation of other peoples. Whenever on any point we come in contact with a foreign power I hope that we shall always strive to speak courteously and respectfully of that foreign power.

"Let us make it evident that we intend to do justice. Then let us make it equally evident that we will not tolerate injustice being done us in return.

"Let us further make it evident that we use no words which we are not prepared to back up with deeds, and that, while our speech is always moderate, we are ready and willing to make it good. Such an attitude will be the surest possible guarantee of that self-respecting peace, the attainment of which is and must ever be the prime aim of a self-governing people.

"This is the attitude we should take as regards the Monroe doctrine. There is not the least need of blustering about it. Still less should it be used as a pretext for our own aggrandizement at the expense of any other American state.

"But most emphatically we must make it evident that we intend on this point ever to maintain the old American position. Indeed, it is hard to understand how any man can take any other position now that we are all looking forward to the building of the isthmian canal.

MONROE DOCTRINE NOT AGGRESSION.

"The Monroe doctrine is not international law, but there is no necessity that it should be. All that is needful is that it should continue to be a cardinal feature of American policy on this continent; and the Spanish-American states should, in their own interests, champion it as strongly as we do. We do not by this doctrine intend to sanction any policy of aggression by one American commonwealth at the expense of any other, nor any policy of commercial discrimination against any foreign power whatsoever.

"Commercially, as far as this doctrine is concerned, all we wish is a fair field and no favor; but if we are wise we shall strenuously insist that under no pretext whatsoever shall there be any territorial aggrandizement on American soil by any European power, and this, no matter what form the territorial aggrandizement may take.

"We most earnestly hope and believe that the chance of our having any hostile military complication with any foreign power is small. But that there will come a strain, a jar, here and there, from commercial and agricultural—that is, from industrial—competition, is almost inevitable.

FIRST DUTY TO PEOPLE AT HOME.

"Here, again, we have got to remember that our first duty is to our own people, and yet that we can get justice best by doing justice. We must continue the policy that has been so brilliantly successful in the past, and so shape our economic system as to give every advantage to the skill, energy, and intelligence of our farmers, merchants, manufacturers, and wageworkers; and yet we must also remember, in dealing with other nations, that benefits must be given when benefits are sought.

"It is not possible to dogmatize as to the exact way of attaining this end, for the exact conditions cannot be foretold. In the long run one of our prime needs is stability and continuity of economic policy; and yet, through treaty or by direct legislation, it may, at least in certain cases, become advantageous to supplement our present policy by a system of reciprocal benefit and obligation.

"Throughout a large part of our national career our history has been one of expansion, the expansion being of different kinds at different times. This expansion is not a matter of regret but of pride. It is vain to tell a people as masterful as ours that the spirit of enterprise is not safe. The true American has never feared to run risks when the prize to be won was of sufficient value.

CUBAN INTERVENTION UNSELFISH.

"No nation capable of self-government and of developing by its own efforts a sane and orderly civilization, no matter how small it may be, has anything to fear from us. Our dealings with Cuba illustrate this, and should be forever a subject of just national pride.

"We speak in no spirit of arrogance when we state as a simple historic fact that never in recent years has any great nation acted with such disinterestedness as we have shown in Cuba. We freed the island from the Spanish yoke. We then earnestly did our best to help the

Cubans in the establishment of free education, of law and order, of material prosperity, of the cleanliness necessary to sanitary well-being in their great cities.

"We did all this at great expense of treasure, at some expense of life; and now we are establishing them in a free and independent commonwealth, and have asked in return nothing whatever save that at no time shall their independence be prostituted to the advantage of some foreign rival of ours or so as to menace our well-being. To have failed to ask this would have amounted to national stultification on our part.

PEACE BROUGHT TO PHILIPPINES.

"In the Philippines we have brought peace, and we are at this moment giving them such freedom and self-government as they could never under any conceivable conditions have obtained had we turned them loose to sink into a welter of blood and confusion, or to become the prey of some strong tyranny without or within. The bare recital of the facts is sufficient to show that we did our duty; and what prouder title to honor can a nation have than to have done its duty? We have done our duty to ourselves, and we have done the higher duty of promoting the civilization of mankind.

"The first essential of civilization is law. Anarchy is simply the hand-maiden and forerunner of tyranny and despotism. Law and order enforced by justice and by strength lie at the foundation of civilization. Law must be based upon justice, else it cannot stand, and it must be enforced with resolute firmness, because weakness in enforcing it means in the end that there is no justice and no law, nothing but the rule of disorderly and unscrupulous strength.

"Without the habit of orderly obedience to the law, without the stern enforcement of the laws at the expense of those who defiantly resist them, there can be no possible progress, moral or material, in civilization. There can be no weakening of the law-abiding spirit at home if we are permanently to succeed; and just as little can we afford to show weakness abroad. Lawlessness and anarchy were put down in the Philippines as a prerequisite to inducing the reign of justice.

BARBARISM TO BE DESTROYED.

"Barbarism has and can have no place in a civilized world. It is our duty toward the people living in barbarism to see that they are freed from their chains, and we can only free them by destroying barbarism itself. The missionary, the merchant, and the soldier may each

have to play a part in this destruction and in the consequent uplifting of the people.

"Exactly as it is the duty of a civilized power scrupulously to respect the rights of all weaker civilized powers and gladly to help those who are struggling toward civilization, so it is its duty to put down savagery and barbarism.

"As in such a work human instruments must be used, and as human instruments are imperfect, this means that at times there will be injustice; that at times merchant, or soldier, or even missionary may do wrong. Let us instantly condemn and rectify such wrong when it occurs, and if possible punish the wrongdoer. But, shame, thrice shame to us, if we are so foolish as to make such occasional wrongdoing an excuse for failing to perform a great and righteous task.

ADVANCE OF CIVILIZATION.

"Not only in our own land but throughout the world, throughout all history, the advance of civilization has been of incalculable benefit to mankind, and those through whom it has advanced deserve the highest honor. All honor to the missionary, all honor to the soldier, all honor to the merchant who now in our day have done so much to bring light into the world's dark places.

"Let me insist again, for fear of possible misconstruction, upon the fact that our duty is twofold, and that we must raise others while we are benefiting ourselves. In bringing order to the Philippines, our soldiers added a new page to the honor roll of American history, and they incalculably benefited the islanders themselves. Under the wise administration of Governor Taft the islands now enjoy a peace and liberty of which they have hitherto never even dreamed.

"But this peace and liberty under the law must be supplemented by material, by industrial, development. Every encouragement should be given to their commercial development, to the introduction of American industries and products; not merely because this will be a good thing for our people, but infinitely more because it will be of incalculable benefit to the people of the Philippines.

MISTAKES TEACH THEIR LESSON.

"We shall make mistakes; and if we let these mistakes frighten us from work we shall show ourselves weaklings. Half a century ago Minnesota and the two Dakotas were Indian hunting grounds. We committed plenty of blunders, and now and then worse than blunders,

in our dealings with the Indians. But who does not admit at the present day that we were right in wresting from barbarism and adding to civilization the territory out of which we have made these beautiful states? And now we are civilizing the Indian and putting him on a level to which he could never have attained under the old conditions.

"In the Philippines let us remember that the spirit and not the mere form of government is the essential matter. The Tagalogs have a hundredfold the freedom under us that they would have if we had abandoned the islands. We are not trying to subjugate a people; we are trying to develop them and make them a law-abiding, industrious, and educated people, and, we hope, ultimately, a self-governing people.

READY TO FACE GRAVE PROBLEMS.

"In short, in the work we have done we are but carrying out the true principles of our democracy. We work in a spirit of self-respect for ourselves and of good will toward others; in a spirit of love for and of infinite faith in mankind. We do not blindly refuse to face the evils that exist or the shortcomings inherent in humanity, but across blundering and shirking, across selfishness and meanness of motive, across short-sightedness and cowardice, we gaze steadfastly toward the far horizon of golden triumph.

"If you will study our past history as a nation you will see we have made many blunders and have been guilty of many shortcomings, and yet have always in the end come out victorious because we have refused to be daunted by blunders and defeats—have recognized them, but have persevered in spite of them.

"So it must be in the future. We gird up our loins as a nation with the stern purpose to play our part manfully in winning the ultimate triumph, and therefore we turn scornfully aside from the paths of mere ease and idleness and with unfaltering steps tread the rough road of endeavor, smiting down the wrong and battling for the right as Greatheart smote and battled in Bunyan's immortal story."

TRIBUTES TO THE CHARACTER OF ROOSEVELT.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S PLEDGE.

The Chicago Record-Herald says:

"President Roosevelt signalized his accession to office by volunteering a pledge of conservatism couched in the following terms:

" 'In this hour of deep and terrible national bereavement I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy

of President McKinley for the peace and prosperity and honor of our beloved country.'

"Men who know the President well needed no such assurance, but the frightfully tragic death of President McKinley, the sudden and wholly unexpected change, were sure to excite apprehension in some minds, and Mr. Roosevelt's quick recognition of the fact and the swift decision with which he acted are as convincing evidence of his strong common sense and sagacity as the words which he uttered. He was not called upon to make any announcement whatsoever or any promise except the one that appears in the official oath which he took. But his statement, which was addressed to members of his predecessor's cabinet, anticipated that solemnity. It was formulated at the very first opportunity under the most impressive circumstances.

"In this connection it may be added also that whenever and wherever the new President has been conceived of as a man all rashness and impetuosity, with something of the saving grace of sincerity, there has been a radical mistake concerning his character. Sincerity he has of the direct and downright kind. It pervades him through and through to the exclusion of every trace of insincerity, but what has been called his rashness was, more accurately speaking, earnestness. It is not the inspiration to reckless disregard of tradition and precedent, but the energizing power, that makes a true conservatism, a thorough instruction through experience and study in the principles of American government count for something.

"President Roosevelt will be loyal to sound finance as President McKinley was. He will demonstrate that he is worthy the confidence of the business interests of the country on all accounts. In urging the policy of reciprocity he will follow the lines laid down in President McKinley's Buffalo address, doing everything to advance, nothing to upset or disorganize trade and commerce. He will cultivate friendly relations with other nations, he will conciliate the people of Porto Rico and the Philippines, insisting only that 'our authority could not be less than our responsibility' in those islands.

"All this is clear from the pledge, which implies the perception that he has the same mandate from the people as the lamented statesman whose death we mourn, and that he is under the same obligations as well as the acknowledgment that in fulfilling these obligations his best guide is President McKinley's example.

"The Buffalo address is the keynote of President Roosevelt's policy."

Mr. Roosevelt took possession of the White House most unostentatiously, and entered with alacrity and enthusiasm upon the great responsibilities of his office, mastering details with an ease and rapidity

that attested his quick apprehension and great learning in administrative affairs, to the delight and astonishment of his cabinet. But this excited no surprise on the part of an expectant and admiring public, which had been well prepared for a great display of ability and fitness by the brilliant campaign he conducted as candidate for the vice presidency, when he appeared in all sections of the country, exciting his supporters to an ecstasy of enthusiasm and winning the respect of his political opponents by logic, eloquence, ready wit and equanimity of temper.

Not since the era of good feeling that prevailed during the administration of James Monroe did any President of the United States receive more cordial support and sympathy from men of all parties and every section of the country than did Theodore Roosevelt upon assuming the duties of his office. Well endowed physically, mentally and moraliy, energetic and studious in his habits, well informed on all the political questions of the day, possessed of a conscience and bent on following its dictates, supported by a faithful, loving and accomplished wife, surrounded by a troop of happy, devoted children and admired and trusted by the people of the greatest government on earth, Theodore Roosevelt is to be congratulated by the nation, whose people may also congratulate themselves on securing such a man to take up and carry to full fruition the noble and patriotic work so splendidly begun and successfully developed by its martyred President, William McKinley.

A TRUTH TELLER AND TRUTH WORKER.

The Christian Endeavor World says:

"In the presidency Mr. Roosevelt will be a truth teller and a truth worker, as he has been elsewhere. He will be a fearless advocate of civil service. He will be a respecter of the Sabbath and an example of a God-fearing, church-going man. He is never ashamed to let it be known that he is a communicant of the Dutch Reformed Church, an earnest and influential Christian body.

"Happy is the nation that has in her chief ruler's seat a man who so embodies the virile and practical elements of Christian manhood. We believe that he will dignify and honor the position. Let us see to it that people and press never forget the respect due to his sterling manhood and his high office. May the anarchist, the cartoonist, and the yellow-journal slanderers—accomplices in our present sorrow and shame—be restrained from repeating the past, and may the mutual love and larger national influence foreshadowed in President McKinley's last days be realized under the man who providentially succeeds him.

"Long live President Roosevelt!"

WILL BECOME MORE CONSERVATIVE.

The Northwestern Christian Advocate says:

"While Mr. Roosevelt is aggressive in all that he undertakes, he possesses practical sense and, as is usually the case with men of intelligence and sagacity, will become more conservative under the sense of responsibility. Even if he were disposed to adopt a new policy, he would readily perceive that the circumstances of Mr. McKinley's death would render a change from his policy unwise, at least until the march of events had furnished some excuses therefor.

"President Roosevelt's course from the moment that he first learned of the shot which ultimately caused the death of the President has won him the respect and affection of the American people. Nothing that he could have done would have evoked heartier admiration than his action after arriving in Buffalo, in proceeding at once, before taking the oath as president, from his train to the Milburn home to tender his sympathy to the stricken widow of the dead president. His position is delicate and responsible. May he have divine wisdom to act aright!"

ROOSEVELT'S POLICY.

The policy of President Roosevelt, as he has outlined, will be for a more liberal and extensive reciprocity in the purchase and sale of commodities, so that the overproduction of this country can be satisfactorily disposed of by fair and equitable arrangements with foreign countries.

The abolition entirely of commercial war with other countries and the adoption of reciprocity treaties.

The abolition of such tariffs on foreign goods as are no longer needed for revenue, if such abolition can be had without harm to our industries and labor.

Direct commercial lines should be established between the eastern coast of the United States and the ports in South America and the Pacific coast ports of Mexico, Central America and South America.

The encouraging of the merchant marine and the building of ships which shall carry the American flag and be owned and controlled by Americans and American capital.

The building and completion as soon as possible of the isthmian canal, so as to give direct water communication with the coasts of Central America, South America and Mexico.

The construction of a cable, owned by the government, connecting our mainland with our foreign possessions, notably Hawaii and the Philippines.

The use of conciliatory methods of arbitration in all disputes with foreign nations, so as to avoid armed strife.

The protection of the savings of the people in banks and in other forms of investment by the preservation of the commercial prosperity of the country, and the placing in positions of trust of men of only the highest integrity.

FAITH IN ROOSEVELT IN EUROPE.

American business men in Europe are convinced that President Roosevelt's commercial policy will avert the threatened danger of a commercial union of the continental nations against the United States.

They are satisfied that the President will adopt the policy outlined in President McKinley's speech at Buffalo, standing on the broad idea of reciprocity and avoiding tariff wars with foreign nations.

They are the more convinced of this since President Roosevelt has shown his inclination to adopt the ideas of his predecessor. There is a strong feeling abroad that under these new conditions the United States is destined to secure a large share of the trade of the foreign markets of the world.

A MAN OF STRONG TRAITS, THE PERSONIFICATION OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION OF AMERICANS.

The London press agree in stating that further familiarity with the idea of Mr. Roosevelt as President is having its natural result in dissipating doubts entertained as to the effect of his succession upon the foreign policy of the United States. At any rate, it is becoming generally conceded in Great Britain that the United States has obtained a President of great distinction and character. The exposition of his policy Sunday is the subject of general comment.

The *Daily Graphic,* which points out that the President of the United States occupies a more powerful position than any other sovereign in Christendom, with the possible exceptions of the German emperor and the czar of Russia, sums up his policy as "that of a sane imperialist, devoted to the advancement and glory of his country without wronging others."

CALLS HIM A LEADER.

The Morning Post, in an editorial, says:

"He is a personification of the younger generation of Americans who are looking forward rather than dreaming of the past. He is a man who seems made to be a leader of his countrymen in the new time which began with the war with Spain. He will be a President of great initiative, devoted to the national rather than to the party ideal."

This journal says that "no nation ever came to maturity without

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET

attempting to assert itself as one, if not the first, of the governing powers of the world." In conclusion, the Morning Post recommends Great Britain to "try to appreciate the American ideals instead of lecturing Americans on their diplomatic methods."

STRONG MAN—AN ARDENT PATRIOT.

The Post-Standard, Syracuse, New York.

A strong man, an ardent patriot, a brave soldier succeeds William McKinley as President of the United States. We know Theodore Roosevelt here in New York state, and we have every confidence in him. He falls heir to vast responsibilities. The ordeal that confronts him will test his patience, his wisdom, his diplomacy and his courage as they have not been tested yet.

The prayers of the nation arise to heaven in behalf of Theodore Roosevelt.

GREAT MAN, SAYS DAILY MAIL.

The London Daily Mail says:

"The United States have a great man at their head. We may expect with confidence that Mr. Roosevelt will be a moderating and not an exasperating influence."

"President Roosevelt's personality attracts the sympathies of the English. Many stories are told of his athletic and sporting tastes, as well as of his achievements as a man of letters, rough rider and public man.

"His accession to office is fraught with great possibilities," says the Westminster Gazette. "To a great extent an absolutely new element has been brought into the world."

After alluding to the Alaskan boundary and Nicaragua canal question, the paper says:

"Will his impulsiveness lead him to take short cuts that may prove long and expensive? Time and experience can alone determine."

WILL BE STRONG PRESIDENT.

The London Globe thinks President Roosevelt has already shown such ability that he would have succeeded President McKinley in 1905 and is confident that he will be a strong and able President.

The afternoon papers all print complimentary editorials on President Roosevelt. They express the belief that his public record and manifold activities, coupled with the supreme responsibility which has been thrust upon him, will make him an excellent ruler.

PRAISE FROM THE GERMAN PRESS.

All the German papers publish the words spoken by Mr. Roosevelt when taking the oath of office as President. Most of them agree that definite opinions regarding his political course are premature.

"Since the battle of San Juan hill," says the Beliner Neuste Nachricten, "Mr. Roosevelt has been the most popular man in the United States. So far as Germany is concerned, there is no reason to assume that he is any less friendly than was his predecessor. His utterances show that he fully esteems the good relations existing between the United States and Germany. He lived for a time in this country, which is terra incognita to him."

The National Zeitung says: "Firmness and energy are prominent features of the character of President Roosevelt; but a strong sense of duty has always quenched his fervid activity, and it guarantees, with his new responsibilities, the peaceful development of the country. He will not abuse the Monroe doctrine. As a politician and historian he has frequently expressed a clear understanding of American policy."

ROOSEVELT WINS THE SOUTH.

The Chicago Record-Herald justly says:

"In no section of the Union will the decision of President Roosevelt to retain the cabinet and carry out, unbroken, the policies of his predecessor be received with greater satisfaction than in the South. For this wise action the South will give him unstinted praise and unwavering loyalty.

"The South had learned to love and trust McKinley. Although it followed blindly the political custom of a quarter century and more of giving its electoral vote to his opponent it came to regard McKinley as the first president since the war who really understood the South and who had an adequate comprehension of its exhaustless resources and its great industrial future. McKinley knew the South by personal contact with her people, and the economic theories he championed in his earlier political career, and which gave him fame as a statesman, caused him to investigate the industrial possibilities of the South and to familiarize himself with her industrial conditions.

"It is easy to understand, therefore, the heartiness of the South's response to the action of President Roosevelt in promising to continue the McKinley administration in all its policies and pledges until the end of the presidential term. The loyal sentiment of the South is happily voiced by Senator Pritchard of North Carolina, a man who is eminently qualified to speak for the new and progressive South, who said in an interview at Washington:

"'I think Mr. Roosevelt will make an exemplary president in every sense of the word. He had a great many friends in the South and has had them for years. Since his declaration to the effect that he purposes to enforce the plans formulated by the late president, however, his friends there have increased many fold, and the southern people generally are disposed to lend him their hearty support.'

"Mr. Roosevelt is not a stranger to the South. He has made many visits to that section of the country, and the southerners have improved every occasion to express their admiration for his sterling Americanism and for his sturdy and robust style of politics."

MASTERFUL, RESOURCEFUL, CONSERVATIVE, LIBERAL.

Bishop Samuel Fallows says: "The President is dead, long live the President. The anarchist's bullet pierced the body only of our illustrious President, his soul goes marching on in the spirit and life of Theodore Roosevelt.

"Roosevelt is masterful, resourceful, full of the aggressiveness of a splendid superabounding volitional nature, and yet capable of holding himself in check for the promotion of the public weal. He has already shown that he has grasped the inner and pregnant meaning of those three inscriptions, as Emerson tells us, written on the gates of Busyrane. On the first gate was inscribed, 'Be Bold;' on the second gate, 'Be Bold, Be Bold and Evermore Be Bold.' But on the third gate were the words, 'Be Not Too Bold.' He will both lead and follow. He has learned to command by obeying.

"The American policy of expansion, reciprocity and good will to mankind, which are the shining characteristics of McKinley's administration, will be exemplified by Roosevelt under unique and striking conditions. He stands for no faction, no cramping lines of illiberal partyism will confine him. He will consecrate his rich and varied gifts to the welfare of the whole American people. Business men now see his real nature, and fully trust him. His hand will not send the financial thermometer flying wildly up and down. The prayers of all the churches fervently ascend to heaven for their youngest, and sure to be by the blessing of providence, one of the very strongest of American Presidents. He is loyal to his own religious convictions, and yet is broad in his sympathies and to the universal church of Christ and the devout aspirations of his fellow men."

GIVES WORD TO NATION.

Harper's Weekly says:

The new President begins his administration not only with the

good will but with the confidence of the country. If his past life had not already been a revelation of high character, great ability, and patriotism, which have won the admiration of hundreds of thousands of his fellow-citizens, his bearing during the trying days which have passed since the death of Mr. McKinley would have firmly established him in their affections. Indeed, there is a ring of manliness in Mr. Roosevelt's words and deeds which inspires faith in him.

During these cruel days of national tragedy and grief his bitterest old-time critics—he seems to have no hostile critic for the moment—must have felt his admirable bearing in the presence of the awful responsibility which had been thrust upon him.

As we saw him emerging from the car in which he had retired from view as he rode across the state to take upon himself the burden dropped by the murdered President he seemed a man who had already risen to the occasion, and every word and act of his spoken or done since he took the oath of office have confirmed this first impression.

To a waiting and anxious country he said that it would be his "aim to continue, absolutely unbroken, the policy of President McKinley for the peace, the prosperity, and the honor of our beloved country." This was enough, for no one doubts the word of Theodore Roosevelt. But since then every one of his official acts, one of them at least being of the first importance and of great significance, have been in harmony with this promise. The McKinley Cabinet is to remain, and this is a renewal of the assurance given in the parlor of the Wilcox house at Buffalo.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Anarchy.

Its Origin, Purposes and Results.

The word anarchy comes from the Greek term *anarkos,* without head or chief, and its primary definition in English nomenclature is: "The absence of government; the state of society where there is no law or supreme power; a state of lawlessness, hence confusion, disorder."

That the theories which are advocated by anarchists are correctly named is constantly shown by the inability of any two of them to agree even upon the same definition.

When at the World's Congress Auxiliary in Chicago, an international congress of anarchists was held, a proposition was made that for the information of the people and the furtherance of their work, a document should be drawn up stating just what their belief is, and what its advocates are trying to accomplish. The confusion resulting from this effort to systemize their teachings nearly broke up the congress, for it was found that each delegate present had his own idea of what anarchy really is, and that no definition given could be satisfactory to more than one or two. Anarchists are always found in small groups, held very loosely together, and small as the several groups may be, they are always much more likely to subdivide than to consolidate. The only things upon which they seem to agree is the doctrine that there is no God, and no moral government in the world,—that all rulers should be stricken down by the red hand of the assassin, all legal codes rendered inoperative and universal chaos should prevail—a condition seems to be considered ideal in which every man may be for himself, and brute strength shall be the basis of superiority.

When Johann Most, the typical representative of the cult, was in Chicago, he declared in German that the first thing anarchists had to do was to "destroy every altar, to extinguish every religion, to tear down God from the heavens." "What right," he asked, "would any man have to govern another unless God gave him that right? *Down with God"!*

In this declaration he was only the echo of Karl Marx and others. The assassin of President McKinley, like his teacher, Emma Goldman,

and her coadjutors, has been blatant in declaring that he had *"no use for God."* Truly: "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God."

The definition of anarchy, then, may be covered by the words *lawlessness and atheism.*

The theory of anarchy is not new; it is as old as the middle ages, and it was gravely discussed by learned pessimists five centuries ago. As a practice it was first taught in France, but the German propagandists soon followed. In both countries it caught the attention, and then secured the endorsement of the unthinking and emotional masses, to whom it was made to appear as the remedy for the real or supposed mistakes of the government. It was then, as now, ably argued by leaders who were capable of better things—men who turned their talents and their learning towards the destruction of society instead of its upbuilding, and we are still reaping the bitter fruit of their teachings. One generation after another has caught up their mistaken ideas, and sent them broadcast upon their mission of massacre.

Anarchy in its modern form is founded upon the teaching of Karl Marx and his followers, and it aims directly at the destruction of all forms of society, religion and government. It offers no solution of the problems of humanity—no hope beyond the grave, or even on this side of it—no recognition of the conditions which must obtain if they should succeed in destroying society, but it contents itself with declaring that the present duty is tearing down, and the work of building up, if it comes at all, must come later.

It was in London that speculative anarchy was largely cultivated by men who had been expelled from Germany, and from there much of its results have perhaps been directed, but the attention of these men was largely given to the work of fomenting discontent upon the continent of Europe.

The anarchy which is found in America is only one phase of the general conspiracy against all governments. It is not that form which obtained under Napoleon, and which brought about the reign of terror. It is not the nihilism of Russia, nor the doctrines which were taught in France, and still it is closely akin to them all.

It comes to us largely from Germany, and represents the features of the German school. It is true that despotism and oppression have sometimes been the cause of revolt in the Old World, but no such excuse is found in America—anarchism upon our soil is a weed which should be uprooted and thrown out. The only rational cause of discontent here is found in the avarice which is never satisfied, but, like "the horse leech and her two daughters," ever cries for more—which is ever wrapping within its greedy folds all smaller methods of business and destroy-

ing all competition, which is the very life of trade. This trouble is not confined to our shores; it is fast becoming world-wide, but this and all others should be met with legitimate effort along constitutional lines. Nothing can be gained by violence which is directed against the head of the state.

The anarchists outrun all social democrats. They refuse to have anything to do with any politics but revolution, and with any revolution but a violent one, and they think the one means of producing revolution now or at any future time is simply to keep exciting disorder or class hatred, assassinating state officers, setting fire to buildings and paralyzing the bourgeoise with fear.

With the great revolt of the common people which has some time resulted from oppression we have nothing to do. It is the policy which aims at the destruction of all the sacred institutions of home and country, and which culminates in the treacherous hand of murder. It is this with which America has to deal—the Judas principle which, under the cover of a cordial hand-clasp given by our Chief Executive, will send the fatal bullet to his heart.

We must beware of including the American socialism which seeks to better the conditions of the masses with the anarchy which aims at the destruction of society, and still there are certain forms of what Europe calls socialism, from the results of which every civilized government is now suffering.

The purpose of anarchy is becoming only too apparent in various parts of the world.

In pursuit of their avowed purpose to "extinguish every religion," they would, if possible, destroy all the God-given liberties of humanity and set up a despotism more terrible than the Dark Ages ever knew. The results upon a merely human scale would be much the same as would result in the whole universe, had they the power to tear the sun from its orbit and wrest every planet from its course, allowing each star to pursue its erratic way at random through the fatal course of anarchy and confusion.

The anarchist assassin wages war upon all society by striking at whoever may be the political chief of the country in which he has found freedom and protection. His violent and unreasoning hate is impersonal, he seeks to destroy whoever and whatever represents law and order, whether it is a despot or a beneficent ruler.

All equitable systems of jurisprudence are based upon divine law. Blackstone says: "An enactment is not a *law* when it violates a law of God." The anarchists have therefore logically begun at the beginning, and aim at the destruction of all the legal codes of the civilized

world by destroying, if possible every sentiment of reverence for divine law. Its avowed purpose is the murder of all who represent the hand of legislation. "Extirpate the miserable brood, extirpate the wretches!" is the published demand of one of the prominent leaders of the cult, and in pursuance of his purpose he publishes explicit directions for making bombs and putting them in public places where as many persons may be reached as possible by either death or hopeless mutilation. He publishes a dictionary of poisons and gives explicit directions for getting them into the food of government officials and other public men. This is not the criminal tendency of one man—not the vagaries of an individual to whom we have charitably applied the term "lunatic," it is the official utterance of the murderous cult which now assails all law and threatens all public men.

The anarchist congress of Geneva in 1882 issued a manifesto, which began thus:

"Our enemy, it is our master. Anarchists—that is to say, men without chiefs—we fight against all who are invested or wish to invest themselves with any kind of power whatsoever. Our enemy is the landlord who owns the soil and makes the peasant drudge for his profit. Our enemy is the employer who owns the workshop, and has filled it with wage-serfs. Our enemy is the state, monarchical, oligarchic, democratic, working class, with its functionaries and its services of officers, magistrates and police. Our enemy is every abstract authority, whether called Devil or Good God, in the name of which priests have so long governed good souls. Our enemy is the law, always made for the oppression of the weak by the strong, and for the justification and consecration of crime."

A meeting of 600 anarchists—chiefly Germans and Austrians, but including also many others—was held at Paris on April 20, 1884 and passed a resolution urgently recommending the extirpation of princes, capitalists and parsons by means of "the propaganda of the deed."

The congress held at London in 1881, which sought to re-establish the international on purely anarchist lines, adopted a declaration of principles, containing among other things the following:

"It is a matter of strict necessity to make all possible efforts to propagate by deeds the revolutionary idea and the spirit of revolt among that great section of the mass of the people which as yet takes no part in the movement, and entertains illusions about the morality and efficacy of legal means. In quitting the legal ground on which we have generally remained hitherto, in order to carry our action into the domain of illegality, which is the only way leading to revolution, it is necessary to have recourse to means which are in conformity with that

end. * * * The congress recommends organizations and individuals constituting part of the international Working Men's Association to give great weight to the study of the technical and chemical sciences as a means of defense and attack."

The object of this violence is partly, as we see from the above quotation, to inflame the spirit of revolt and disorder in the working classes; and it is partly to terrorize the bourgeoisie, so that they may yield in pure panic all they possess. But for its expressly violent policy, anarchism would be at least formidable or offensive manifestation of contemporary socialism. For, in the first place, its specific doctrine is one which it is really difficult to get the most ordinary common sense puzzled into accepting. Men in their better mind may be ready enough to listen to specious, or even not very specious, schemes of reform that hold out a promise of extirpating misery, and in their worst mind they may be quite as prone to think that if everybody had his own, there would be fewer rich; but they are not likely to believe we can get on without law or government. Even the vainest will feel that however superfluous these institutions may be for themselves, they are still unhappily indispensable for some of their neighbors.

The results of this fatal teaching have left many a crimson stain upon two continents.

NOTABLE ASSASSINATIONS AND ATTEMPTS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

George III. of England, attempt by Margaret Nicholson on August 2, 1786, and by James Hatfield on May 15, 1800.

Napoleon I. of France, attempt by use of an infernal machine on December 24, 1800.

Czar Paul of Russia, killed by nobles of his court on March 24, 1801.

Spencer Percival, premier of England, killed by Bellingham on May 11, 1812.

George IV. of England, attempt on January 28, 1817.

August Kotzebue of Germany, killed by Earl Sand for political motives on March 23, 1819.

Charles duc de Berri, killed on February 13, 1820.

Andrew Jackson, president of the United States, attempt on January 30, 1835.

Louis Philippe of France, six attempts: By Fieschi, on July 28, 1835; by Alibaud, on June 25, 1836; by Miunier, on December 27, 1836; by Darmos, on October 16, 1840; by Lecompte, on April 14, 1846; by Henry, on July 19, 1846.

Denis Affre, archbishop of Paris, on June 27, 1848.

Rossi, Comte Pellegrino, Roman statesman, on November 15, 1848.
Frederick William IV. of Prussia, attempt by Sofelage on May 22, 1850.
Francis Joseph of Austria, attempt by Libenyi, on February 18, 1853.
Ferdinand, Charles III., Duke of Parma, on March 27, 1854.
Isabella II. of Spain, attempts by La Riva on May 4, 1847; by Merino on February 2, 1852; by Raymond Fuentes on May 28, 1856.
Napoleon III., attempts by Pianori on April 28, 1855; by Bellemarre on September 8, 1855; by Orsini and others (France) on January 14, 1858.
Daniel, Prince of Montenegro, on August 13, 1860.
Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States, at Ford's Theater, Washington, by John Wilkes Booth, on the evening of April 14; died on April 15, 1865.
Michael, Prince of Servia, on June 10, 1868.
George Darboy, archbishop of Paris,by communists, on May 24, 1871.
Richard, Earl of Mayo, governor general of India, by Shere Ali, a convict, in Andaman Islands, on February 8, 1872.
Amadeus, Duke of Aosta, when King of Spain, attempt on July 19, 1872.
Prince Bismarck, attempt by Blind on May 7, 1866; by Kullman on July 13, 1874.
Abdul Aziz, Sultan of Turkey, on June 4, 1876.
Hussein Avni and other Turkish ministers, by Hassan, a Circassian officer, on June 15, 1876.
William I. of Prussia and Germany, attempts by Oscar Becker on July 14, 1861; by Hodel on May 11, 1878; by Dr. Nobiling on June 2, 1878.
Mehemit Ali, pasha, by Albanians on September 7, 1878.
Lord Lytton, viceroy of India, attempt by Busa on December 12, 1878.
Alfonso XII. of Spain, attempts by J. O. Moncasi on October 25, 1878; by Francisco Otero Gonzalez on December 30, 1879.
Loris Melikoff, Russian general, attempt on March 4, 1880.
Bratiano, premier of Roumania, attempt by J. Pietraro on December 14, 1880.
Alexander II. of Russia, attempts by Karakozow at St. Petersburg on April 16, 1866; by Berozowski at Paris on June 6, 1867; on April 14, 1879, Salovieff shot at the emperor of all the Russias in the streets of St. Petersburg, but without effect, though the assailant was punished for his crime. In the same year the royal train was wrecked by dynamite, but again the czar escaped. On February 17, 1880, the dining-room of the winter palace was wrecked by a terrific explosion, but the czar had not yet entered the room, as the anarchists supposed. Ten soldiers of the guard were destroyed

in this dastardly attempt upon the life of the emperor. The final and successful attempt upon the life of Alexander II. was made March 13, 1881, when the bomb thrown by Ryaskoff missed the mark and immediately another was thrown by Elnikoff, which killed the emperor and also the murderer.

James A. Garfield, president of the United States, shot by Charles J. Guiteau on July 2, 1881.

Mayor Carter H. Harrison of Chicago, shot by Prendergast on October 28, 1893.

Marie Francois Carnot, president of France, stabbed mortally at Lyons by Cesare Santo, an anarchist, on Sunday, June 24, 1894.

Stanislaus Stambuloff, ex-premier of Bulgaria, killed by four persons, armed with revolvers and knives, on July 25, 1895.

Nasr-ed-din, shah of Persia, was assassinated on May 1, 1896, as he was entering a shrine near his palace. The man who shot him was disguised as a woman and is believed to have been the tool of a band of conspirators. He was caught and suffered the most horrible death that Persian ingenuity could invent.

Prim, marshal of Spain, on December 28; died on December 30, 1870.

Antonio Canovas del Castillo, prime minister of Spain, shot to death by Michel Angolillo, alias Golli, an Italian anarchist, at Santa Agueda, Spain, while going to the baths, on August 8, 1897.

Juan Idiarte Borda, president of Uruguay, killed on August 25, 1897, at Montevideo by Avelino Areedondo, officer in Uruguayan army.

President Diaz, attempt in the City of Mexico by M. Arnulfo on September 20, 1897.

Jose Maria Reyna Barrios, president of Guatemala, killed at Guatemala City on February 8, 1898, by Oscar Solinger.

Empress Elizabeth of Austria, brilliant, beautiful and well beloved, stabbed by Luchini, a French-Italian anarchist, at Geneva, Switzerland, on September 10, 1898.

William Goebel, democratic claimant to the governorship of Kentucky, shot by a person unknown on Tuesday, January 30, 1900, while on his way to the state capital in Frankfort, Ky.

Humbert, king of Italy, shot to death on July 29, 1900, at Monza, Italy, by Angelo Bresci.

Albert Edward, then Prince of Wales, now king of England, attempt by Brussels anarchist on April 4, 1900.

William McKinley, president of the United States, shot at Buffalo on September 6, 1901. Died September 14, 1901.

Unfortunately, this is not the first appearance of the cult on Amer-

ican soil. On the night of May 4, 1886, a circular call had gathered several hundred anarchists together in Haymarket square, Chicago.

There had been more or less trouble between the police and this class of incendiaries who made the vehicle of "free speech" the means of defying and insulting the power that protected them, even in their defiance of law, and on this fateful night, six companies of police, numbering 174 men, marched from the Desplaines street station to disperse the crowds. Inspector Bonfield and Captain Ward were in command. Captain Ward advanced to the wagon upon which Samuel Fielden stood, with others, and ordered them to disperse. "We are peaceable," shouted Fielden, and this was evidently the signal which had been agreed upon, for at that instant a man upon the wagon arose, lighted a bomb and threw it into the ranks of the policemen, and this was followed by a fusilade of shots from both sides. When a semblance of order had been restored it was found that Officer M. J. Degan had been killed, six other policemen fatally injured and sixty-six persons wounded. Arrests followed, six of the principals were condemned to death and three others were sent to the penitentiary. For five years or more these salutary punishments had the effect of keeping the serpent of anarchy partially out of sight. Meetings were not often held in public, and when they were, the utterances did not counsel murder; the anarchists went back to their old haunts and held their secret meetings behind the closed doors of the saloons where their crimes had been so largely planned.

Thus for a century and more the black heart and cruel hand of anarchy have stained its pathway with blood in pursuance of its avowed object. Rooted in a theory which denies the very existence of God, they ignore the fact that man must and will obey something—if not the higher principles of law and order, then they become the slaves of their own brutal passions—the helpless victims of their own uncontrolled and vicious impulses. How truly are they "brought into captivity to the law of sin which is in their members."

The dangerous class is not the illiterate. The leaders of this lawlessness are often those who have been trained in science and letters, but from lack of conscience and moral culture they become a menace to society. Secular education alone leads to a one-sided and morbid development; it is the brilliant and accomplished villain who perpetrates the great wrongs upon humanity; the people are robbed by the great manipulators of the markets and not by the petty thieves.

The unlettered negroes of the United States were always loyal to the government; the colored man is largely possessed of the faults of the white man, but disloyalty is not one of them.

Herbert Spencer says that: "The discipline of science is superior

to that of our ordinary education because of the religious culture which it gives;" but we now have a cult who have degraded the lessons of science until it has become the act of murder. The leaders are now admonishing their followers to study the methods of wholesale destruction and apply the information thus obtained to the art of making bomb and infernal machines which shall do their work quickly and effectually. Following the assassination of Carnot, Most preached the doctrine of scientific murder in the following language:

"Whosover wants to undertake an assassination should at first learn to use the weapon with which he desires to accomplish his purpose before he brings that weapon definitely into play. Attempts by means of the revolver are utterly played out, because of twenty-five attempts only one is successful, as experience has thoroughly shown. Only expert dead shots may thoroughly rely on their ability to kill. No more child's play! Serious labor! Long live the torch and bomb!"

Their admonitions also come from other sources and they are being carefully followed out. They show how greatly the destroying spirit has developed since the French revolution, when twenty-eight chemists were taken to the guillotine together. Lavoisier pleaded in vain for a few minutes which might enable him to finish an important experiment, and produce results which he hoped might be of immense value to the scientific world. But even this was denied him and he was hurried away to execution with the cry: "We have no need of science; we have no need of savants." Now, however, they have "need of science" in order to the more perfectly execute their carefully laid plans.

Surely these are purposes and results which call for stringent measures and the public is now waking up to the fearful responsibility resting upon it. Governments, too, are becoming more watchful concerning the movements of the common enemy. The doctrine of the bomb and the dagger has found its way into the capitals of all countries, while even the villages and country places are not exempt, but when a man or a woman stands out boldly to advocate the cause of murder, the name of the criminal is placed in the lists of the secret service headquarters of a dozen countries. The photographs are filed as in the rogue's gallery of the police departments and all friends and associates of the party are marked as dangerous characters. His habits of life are tabulated and his goings and comings are under the eye of some officer of the service. The United States government at Washington has a list of the names and also the photographs of all the known anarchists of the world, and the members of the cult are under surveillance in all civilized countries.

France has been especially active in this scrutiny; the government has a detective system which is nearly perfect and it is almost impossible

for a meeting to be held upon French soil without official spies being among the audience.

In Russia both the police and military arms keep watch upon suspects, detectives move everywhere among those where discontent is supposed to be fomenting.

London has for many years been a hot bed of anarchist scheming, but even there the system of espionage is carefully maintained and when the doctrine of massacre is propagated the speakers are noted by the officers. It is true that too much inflammatory speech-making is allowed, but the movements of dangerous characters are closely followed.

The people and the loyal press, the pulpit, the lawmakers and the government itself are a unit with the whole civilized world concerning the duty which lies at our doors. Surveillance is not sufficient, for the sporadic teaching of destruction is liable to develop anywhere and at any time a new assassin who is unknown to the police and who now perhaps for the first time becomes a criminal. Moreover, when a great crime has been committed their loose organizations are easily scattered and it is nearly impossible to trace their relationship with the deed, in lines sufficiently definite to secure punishment.

In the columns of his journal, which is the avowed advocate of the bomb, Most says: "As a rule never more than one anarchist should take charge of the attempt, so that in case of discovery the anarchist party may suffer as little as possible."

The civilized world should act at once and together for the suppression of the whole dangerous doctrine.

The consensus of opinion seems to be that one of the tropical islands should be devoted to the use of anarchists. The innocent natives should be bought out and provided with other homes and then the island should be given over to those who object to all forms of government. This suggestion comes simultaneously from all parts of the country and from the ranks of the most intelligent economists. There could be no cruelty in giving them an opportunity to practice their own methods and live independently of law. They could see the workings of their own theory, and this would be its radical cure. They would soon tire of each other and the result would be the survival of the strongest, but civilization would at least be safe from their depredations, and the young people of America would be delivered from the poison of their teachings.

Those who preach anarchy and the destruction of law have come to the United States without invitation and often because they could no longer keep out of prison in their native land. Under these circumstances the least they can do is to live thankfully under the flag which,

whether wisely or not, has given them a refuge. If, then, they cannot live under the Stars and Stripes without a constant vilification of the principles which these glorious colors represent, if they are so utterly destitute of moral development that they cannot appreciate American liberty and culture, they should at once leave a soil which has been found so uncongenial. Not only this, but the government should see to it that they go at once and provide them with free transportation to some spot where they may easily make a living by working for it, and where they will be entirely unhampered by the laws which they despise.

The sturdy young republic has been too generous with her invitations to the down-trodden of the Old World. She has received multitudes of their poor and maimed, their destitute and comparatively helpless. She has given them homes and lands, she has furnished them with means to earn their daily bread and has freely educated their children. She has made herself cosmopolitan for their sakes, and many of them, perhaps the most, have repaid her hospitality by making good citizens under her care and protection.

But too many of them have come to us with no honest intent—too many of them are like the newcomer who, when he was asked how he was going to vote, answered: "Oh, I don't know. *But I'm agin the government.*" This was his only political creed and was the full extent of his political knowledge.

America has been too generous in placing the ballot in the hands of foreigners who were ignorant of all science of government and entirely incapable of appreciating our institutions. Surely it is high time that our suffrage laws were revised, and an interval of ten years or more be given for the emigrant to become acquainted with the science of government before the ballot, the token of American sovereignty, be given him. The stranger in a strange land should not be permitted to lay his untutored hand upon the sacred helm that guides the great ship of state.

Surely our emigration laws should be revised and measures taken to prevent the incoming of the vicious and depraved from both Europe and Asia. Those who have provoked the hostility of the police in the cities of Europe are very apt to seek refuge upon our shores and then avail themselves of the great freedom here found for the propagation of their poisonous doctrines. The European officials as a rule are so glad to get rid of them that when they come no information is sent concerning their characters, lest they be returned to them, hence the United States must learn to protect herself. Palliative measures and educational influences having been found ineffectual, it is apparent that the only practical method is the complete elimination of the cancer from the body

politic, and the proposition to effect complete, although humane, banishment is meeting with wide and enthusiastic approval.

It is a source of gratitude on the part of the American people that although the serpent of anarchy has found food and shelter among us, it is not a product of our soil. It is much for which to be thankful that in all its hideous forms it wears a foreign garb and bears a foreign name. It was not an American who struck the coward blow which brought tears to the whole civilized world.

Not only is it necessary to cleanse the country as far as possible of anarchist teachers, to revise the emigration laws in such a way as to prevent free access of the vicious to our shores, and to revise our suffrage laws so that the government itself may never be given into the hands of the untutored foreigner, but it is absolutely necessary that measures be taken for the protection of the President of the United States. He should have greater care, if possible, than a European ruler, for his death might at any time involve far greater changes. The death of a king or queen seldom affects the policy of the state, but a change of administration in America might result in a sudden reversal of public policy and complete defeat of the will of the people who have voted for certain principles.

The President of the United States, while he holds his high and sacred office, is the greatest ruler upon earth and he should be the most carefully guarded.

That the people are now fully awake to this common foe will be shown by the following opinions which have been publicly expressed, and which are in full accord with the sentiment of the whole civilized world.

The following persons have expressed their views on anarchy in unmistakable language:

ATHEISM.

Senator John P. Dolliver, of Iowa.

"The fatal word in the creed of anarchy is 'atheism.' Until that word is spoken, until all sense of the moral government of the universe and the spiritual significance of human life is lost, it is impossible to conceive, much less to execute, this malignant propaganda against the rights of mankind. No man who brings nothing with him except a blind faith in natural laws, which nobody made and nobody administers, will ever find a permanent discipleship in a world like this. It is their misfortune that their works have had the most influence among those who have been least able to understand them.

PRESIDENT McKINLEY AND THE SPANISH WAR CABINET

"The creed of anarchy rebels against the state, and with infinite folly proposes that every man should be a law unto himself. It is more mischievous because more pretentious than the common levels of crime, for without disdaining the weapons of the ruffian it does not hesitate to seek shelter under the respectability that belongs to the student and the reformer.

HOME ALSO IN DANGER.

"The creed of anarchy despises the obligations of the marriage contract, impeaches the integrity of domestic life, enters into the homes of the people to pull down their altars and subject the family relation, which is the chief bond of society, to the caprices of the loafer and the libertine. In all these things it has an alliance implied if not expressed, with every variation of that rotten public opinion which in many American states has turned the court of equity into a daily scene of perjury and treason against the hearthstones of the community, a treason so flagrant that a year ago, for the accommodation of a single man, the legislature of Florida was induced to descend below the level of all paganisms and all barbarisms by so amending the laws of divorce as to permit a winter resident to legally desert the wife of his youth, not on account of any fault of hers, but because of the pathetic burdens which she bore.

"I count it of infinite value to every decent form of civilization that against this background of unworthy living, from the front porch of a little cottage covered with vines, yonder at Canton, the outline sketch of two lives has been thrown, so beautiful in their loyalty to one another that good men everywhere stand in silence before it, while the womanhood of the world, seeing the knightliness of love which alters not, draw near, from stations high and low, to salute the picture with the benediction of their tears.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

"The bill of rights, written in the English language, stands for too many centuries of sacrifice, too many battlefields sanctified by blood, too many hopes of mankind, reaching toward the ages to come, to be mutilated in the least in order to meet the case of a handful of miscreants whose names nobody can pronounce. Whether the secret of this ghastly atrocity rests in the keeping of one man or many we may never know, but if the President was picked out by hidden councils for the fate which overtook him, there is a mournful satisfaction in the fact that in his life, as well as in his death, he represented American manhood at its best.

* * * * * * *

"It has come to look more rational to me that if William McKinley's

assassination was indeed an incident of the standing challenge of atheism against the peace and order of society, it could not, now that Gladstone is no more, have chosen a sacrifice more fit to illustrate the nobility of human character, nurtured in the fear of God and trained from infancy in the law of Christ."

WE MUST THROTTLE ANARCHY.

Governor Richard Yates.

"There is every reason to believe that he was commissioned to commit the crime. Whether he has admitted anything or not, his act was so cowardly, cruel and cunning that it is inexcusable except on the infamous theory that all heads of government must be destroyed and all civilization subverted. It cannot be denied that all his conduct is based upon anarchistic doctrine. He will pay the penalty of his crime. He will give up his life. But that matters not to him. He expected as much. He has, from the standard of the anarchist, achieved a grand and brilliant success. His example will be followed if possible.

"Civilization must do all it can to make it impossible. Anarchy must be made infamous, with prevention as sure as punishment. All teaching and inciting of murder and murderous doctrines should be and now will be punishable with death. If our laws are not sufficiently stringent we will make them so."

RED HANDED ANARCHY MUST BE SUPPRESSED.

Rt. Rev. Samuel Fallows.

"There is a species of theoretical or philosophical anarchy which is comparatively harmless. It means that all existing forms of government are imperfect and should be supplanted by individual liberty, carried to its extremest logical conclusion.

"But there is a red-handed anarchy which finds expression in the language of one of its representative advocates:

" 'I am an enemy of everything and everybody, and I am proud of it. Killing a ruler makes people think. We want to exterminate evils by force. We never consider consequences. We are opposed to government which means political tyranny. We do not believe in religion, laws or individual ownership of property.'

"The flag of anarchy is, therefore, the flag of atheism. Anarchists are without God and without respect for the laws of God or human society. They believe in assassination and murder, to carry out their ends their weapons are poison, the dagger, the pistol, the bomb.

CULT OF ANNIHILATION.

"Their cult is one of disorder and annihilation. They have neither shame nor conscience. Shall such anarchy be allowed to flourish within our bounds? Would its repression be inconsistent with the principle which we have maintained from the beginning of our national history, that a man may hold what opinion he likes and speak as he likes providing he commits no overt act against the law?

"We cannot too jealously and sedulously guard the reasonable freedom of the press and freedom of speech. But self-preservation is the first law of nature. The preaching and teaching of murder leads to murder.

"The assassin of President McKinley is the abnormal graduate of the school of Emma Goldman and her kind. Clearly we have the right and it is our solemn duty to suppress to the fullest extent the murderous utterances of these atrocious creatures.

"They should be prohibited from meeting together to discuss their plots and conspiracies against government and the lives of the constituted authorities. The United States mails must be closed against their pernicious literature. Those anarchists among us who remain defiant must either be confined or else deported from our shores.

SHOULD BE BANISHED.

"They are the enemies of all civilization and should, by the concerted action of the civilized world, be passed on to the wilds of primitive savagery and learn by bitter experience the tender mercies of the barbarians they represent.

"Stringent measures should be adopted against the admission of any more European anarchists to our shores. The immigrant desirous of becoming a good American citizen should always be welcome. No men more heartily detest Czolgosz and his abominable crime than those who have deliberately renounced their allegiance to other lands and have taken up their abode beneath our flag of liberty.

"Both the states and the national congress should enact well matured laws to meet the emergency which is upon us.

"Respect for law must be continually inculcated in the home, the school and the church. Education is the salvation of our people, but it must be an education that recognizes God as the ultimate source of authority and power."

NO PLACE FOR RED FLAGS.

Mayor David Rose, of Milwaukee.

"Anarchist, look at this great people bowed in sorrow. Go measure

the ocean of tears they have shed in the grief your fiendish hand has brought upon them. Go fathom the depth of their love for their institutions, consecrated to the happiness of man and say, 'Are our hellish ministrations needed here?'

"No, a million times. Go back to the regions of hate, go back to the lands where kings reign and tyrants rule. Go back, or by the blood of our martyred President we will rise in avenging wrath and wipe you from the earth. Monarchies may flourish and fall, but we have no throne to crumble. By the rectitude of our national conduct we will lead, and by the beneficence of our example we will teach, until crowns shall dissolve in the melting pot of a higher civilization and the whole world shall bow before the liberty of man."

NO EXCUSE FOR ANARCHY.

Edgar A. Bancroft.

"In a republic like ours there is no excuse, no palliation, for contempt of law. There is no evil that organized society can abolish that cannot surely be abolished lawfully. To meet and prevent such a crime as this requires no curtailment of freedom of speech and freedom of the press. It only requires a clearer and more constant discrimination of the true use from the base up."

NO ROOM FOR ANARCHY.

Lieutenant Governor Northcott.

"Anarchy is the highest treason of republics, and the law should deal with it with the utmost severity. The strongest penalty should be provided for the preaching of the doctrine of murder and destruction. The law now makes it a crime to conspire against any particular life, and it should be the highest crime to conspire against the life of society."

ANARCHY SHALL NOT PREVAIL OVER THE LAW.

General John C. Black.

"But it is not well with our laws; it is not well with our institutions, while we receive and protect those who know no law and who hate our institutions; it is not well that the eagle should nurture the viper whose only purpose is to sting him to death. Liberty is very dear; human rights very sacred, but a president has as much right to life as an assassin, and a good citizen should be as free as an anarchist. And our highest duty, here in the awful presence of the third victim of our love and partiality, while his blood incarnadines our land in its fresh flow, here while McKinley's shade points to his gaping wounds and Lincoln

and Garfield are by his side, now while our tears flow for them all, is to declare that anarchy shall not prevail over the law, but that since it has challenged the law and vowed the overthrow of our government and the death of our chosen servants, it shall perish by the law.

DEATH FOR ANARCHISTS.

"It is for us to declare that those who conspire or plan to compass the murder of our officers or the destruction of government must depart from our midst or die by the law. It is for us to declare that, while the republic is the free home of the virtuous exile, it is not and shall not be the refuge of the murderer or the abode of law-hating criminals; that the government has the right to live without the consent or assistance of any person or any other power; that while it guards the mail carrier while on duty on his way, and the customs officer at his post, wherever they may be, it shall not be deemed, under like conditions, helpless to protect its other officers and all its citizens anywhere within our dominion.

"And if from these sad hours the awakened majesty of American law shall assert its full power, then, my countrymen, McKinley will not have died in vain. All will be well with the law."

MUST SUPPRESS ANARCHY.

Rev. Rufus A. White.

"It seems to me that it would be a wise precaution to investigate the character of all foreigners coming to this country from the old world who might possess any revolutionary ideas. In this case it would be perfectly proper for each government to exclude immigrants of this class altogether. The death of President McKinley will not have been in vain if it calls attention to what seems to be a growing disregard for law and order on the part of all classes in this country."

RESOLUTIONS OF THE MARQUETTE CLUB, CHICAGO.

"That if it is destiny that so dear a martyrdom must needs be to startle the American people into a sense of the danger which menaces their government, then do we echo the dying words of the president, 'God's will be done,' realizing, as never before, that as there is no room for imperialism on American soil, neither is there room for anarchy; realizing, also, as never before, that human life is only sacred so long as it is human, and that it is not too sacred to make anarchy punishable with death.

"That we pledge ourselves to this new work of extirpating anarchy

in the United States, whether it be armed with the assassin's pistol or the liar's pen. 'God's will be done.'

"Henry D. Estabrook, Chairman.
"Elbridge Hanecy,
"Alexander H. Heyman,
"George E. Wissher,
Committee.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 19.

"That we call upon the states and the nation to take prompt and emphatic legislative steps to deal adequately with the advocates of the damnable doctrine which teaches that law and order must be overthrown, and which, the world over, openly adopts assassination as the instrument of its operation. The anarchist has no place in this country and he should be made to understand that he will be dealt with in the same manner as any other plague or pestilence which threatens the public security."

ANARCHY AND LYNCHING.

Theodore B. Thiele, chairman of the vigilance committee of the German Catholic Societies of Illinois, expresses the following sentiments:

"In these days of great excitement among the American people on account of the assassination of the chief executive of the nation, the question, 'Who is responsible for the act of the assassin?' receives considerable attention. Public officials and the mass of the people seem to take it for granted that the men and women who profess and believe in anarchistic principles and who have made propaganda for them are individually responsible for the act committed.

THE PROMOTION OF LYNCHING.

"Persons of standing in the community who are as a rule conservative in their views on everyday affairs, do not hesitate to proclaim publicly in favor of unlawful procedure and express their desire to participate in the lynching of every one who is known to hold anarchistic views. The enormity of the crime and the excitement of the hour may be sufficient excuse for such expressions, but when our citizens have returned to calm reasoning they will admit that the carrying out of their suggestions would only bring greater shame upon our nation, which already feels keenly that its honor has suffered by the act of the assassin. What seems to cause general amazement is the fact that in this great country of ours, in which the law guarantees the greatest possible liberty to every individual, anarchy should find so strong a foothold; that any person dissatisfied with existing conditions should have so little faith in

the ability and willingness of the people to correct any abuses of official power by means of the ballot box as to cause him to resort to the assassination of a president. And yet it is plain that anarchism does exist and the foul crime which has thrown the nation into mourning is a consequence."

THE SERPENT OF ANARCHY.

Rt. Rev. Charles Edward Cheney, D. D.

Above all, God is teaching us that the nation which breaks through the hedge of reverence for *law*, cannot escape the serpent of Anarchy. What is the plain significance of the fact that unrepealed laws are on the statute books of our states and our cities, which no magistrate will enforce? What a picture do we present to the world when a mob usurps the functions of judge and jury, and men are tortured and burned alive by those who will not wait the slower processes of the courts! Can anything give a clearer illustration of the contempt with which the sacredness of law has come to be regarded, than the simple fact that honest men are driven from their work by mobs that deny them the right to earn their bread?

We may turn a deaf ear to the voice which warns us. But sooner or later the lesson must be learned that no republican government can exist without reverence for God, reverence for authority and reverence for law. There was a solemn pathos in the reply of Anne of Austria to the haughty Richelieu,—"My Lord Cardinal, God does not pay at the end of every week, but at the last *He pays.*"

Is there no gleam of light in this awful gloom? Yes, dear friends, it is the law of history, as it is the law of God, that every great sacrifice means a great blessing. Already it appears. How this sorrow unites this nation! No tenderer sympathy stirs human hearts for the tragic death of the President, and the sorrow which has smitten the wife he loved with such chivalrous devotion—than among the people whom he helped, by force of arms to bring back to allegiance to the Union. Nor is the mourning of his political opponents less sincere than that of his political adherents. Was ever a more touching scene than when at one time around the bier in Washington, there bowed in deepest grief, Grover Cleveland, whom William McKinley succeeded in his high office, and Fitzhugh Lee, once a brave officer in the ranks of the Southern Confederacy, and now by the grace of the great-hearted dead, a major general of the armies of the United States. As the nation gathers at this bloody grave, it is one and indivisible in its sorrow.

Let us moreover thank God if, even at such a fearful cost, the eyes of the American people are at last being opened to the peril of admit-

ting the scum of European anarchy to drift unchallenged into our country. At last we have reason to believe that such nests of plotters against society as that at Patterson, New Jersey, which wrought the murder of the King of Italy, shall be forever broken up. Let us hope that the enactment and enforcing of righteous law, shall make toleration of teachers of crime, like the woman by whom the assassin of the President was trained, as impossible as peace with a den of rattlesnakes.

ANARCHY—THE SECESSION OF THE WILL.

President M. Woolsey Stryker, D. D.

"For a God of nations He surely is. The nation is an entity—a real and providential unity. It is dealt with under the conditions of time, but under the sanctions of those same holy laws whose last results for individuals are postponed to an eternal assize. Columbia is no exception, nay, rather, it is an especial instance. If with other peoples He has made evident His way—to chastise, to reclaim, to advance, or to abandon—in nowise shall we forego His control and miss His retributions or rewards. As a nation we are recalled to the recognition of His sovereignty. Our very prosperity has been our danger. We have forgotten His absolute right, and that not in enterprise and arms, not in fleets and forts, not in gainful affairs, but in devout duty and obedience to the divine law of human love alone lie and can lie security and peace. Our worst foes are of our own households and hearts. 'Lest we forget!' If we will not take it to heart, and bend our proud knees in humble submission and entreaty, then the clocks of this awful September will have struck in vain.

"We need a great recall to the truth that God reigns over men; that His authority is not elective; that His laws are immutable; that democracy is not an end to itself, but a means to general liberty under law, and to the freedom wherewith God's control alone makes free; else liberty is license, and love is lust, and resistance to one abuse the installation of a worse. For what is anarchy at last but that secession of the will in which self-autonomy becomes universal willfulness? Atheism is its spirit and creed, passion and pride its incarnation, and Byron's 'Dream' the issue!

"Sin is 'lawlessness'—the resentment against any control of man or God."

ANARCHY THE LAW OF THE WOLF.

Address of Hon. George R. Peck before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Chicago, October 1, 1901.

After paying a glowing tribute to President McKinley, Mr. Peck said:

"Anarchy is the law of the wolf. We meet it, even in such a crisis, with the law of love, which in its last analysis is the law of eternal justice. The wretch who did that fatal and perfidious deed had, in spite of himself, the safeguards which he despised. In that memorable trial the institutions of a free government rose to their highest, so that all the world might see the majesty of a people governing themselves.

HOW TO STAMP OUT ANARCHY.

"But should not anarchy be stamped out? Yes; but after Russia, Germany and Italy have tried it, I doubt the efficacy of mere force. Let the laws be strengthened for the actual offender so that his punishment shall follow fast upon the offense. Let laws be passed which make it certain that free speech and a free press do not authorize an accessorial connection with murder. Let there be laws which shall specially protect those in authority—executive, legislative and judicial—for these are the nerves of the body politic. Let immigration be kept within bounds, and let there be a quarantine against moral as well as physical disease.

"Anarchy is an alien growth, a miserable doctrine foreign to our habits of thought and foreign to the essential genius of our institutions. It is a very shallow creed, and the wonder is that it should have followers anywhere. And yet the true cure is not in repressive laws, but in education, in enlightenment and in the cultivation of patriotic instincts.

"Institutions remain, and will remain, whether a McKinley or a Roosevelt holds the rudder. And so we know, as the blind believers in assassination must now most surely know, that organized society and government cannot depend upon a single life. I speak not only as a lawyer, but as an American citizen, oppressed with the weight of all these grave misgivings. But through the gloom the sun still sends its rays. I do not doubt that our way will be made plain. As lawyers we shall go forward after the old fashion, fighting our small battles over small things, but never doubting that in the ultimate test the American court is the sure shield and fortress of American rights."

WHO ARE ANARCHISTS.

United States Senator J. P. Dolliver.

"The creed of anarchy rebels against the state, and with infinite folly proposes that every man should be a law unto himself. It is more mischievous because more pretentious than the common levels of crime, for

without disdaining the weapons of the ruffian it does not hesitate to seek shelter under the respectability that belongs to the student and the reformer.

"It ought not to be forgotten that these conspirators, working out their nefarious plans in secret, in the dens and caves of the earth, enjoy an unconscious co-operation and side-partnership with every lawless influence which is abroad in the world. Legislators who betray the commonwealth, judges who poison the fountains of justice, municipal authorities which come to terms with crime—all these are regular contributors to the campaign fund of anarchy.

"That howling mass, whether in Kansas or Alabama, that assembly of wild beasts, dancing in drunken carousal about the ashes of some negro malefactor, is not contributing to the security of society; it is taking away from society the only security it has. It belongs to the unenrolled reserve corps of anarchy in the United States. Neither individuals nor corporations nor mobs can take the law into their own hands without identifying themselves with this more open but hardly less odious attack upon the fortress of the social order. The words which came spontaneously to the lips of William McKinley as he sank under mortal wounds and saw the infuriated crowd pressing about his assailant ought to be repeated in the ears of the officers of the peace from one end of the land to the other, in all the years that are to come—'Let no one hurt him; let the law take its course.'"

Chicago Coliseum, September 23.

TIME FOR ACTION.

The Rev. Thomas E. Mason, assistant rector of Christ Reformed Episcopal Church, Chicago:

"Never before in the history of our nation have we seen so much sorrow. It is universal and could not be otherwise, for our honored and beloved President has been slain by the bullet of an anarchist. It is a time for earnest prayer, but it is time for something more. It is time for action.

"Anarchy is the avowed enemy of all governments, of law and order and of righteousness. This, therefore, is the time for united action to crush it ere it is too late and another life has been sacrificed. Let our government be helped by the power of a united people's demand for the passing of laws which will forever put an end to all anarchy and put a safety guard on our republic and her beloved presidents. God help us to act and act quickly."

MUST STAMP OUT ANARCHY.

"Tempering every breath of happiness at this reunion is the fearful tragedy of last Friday," said General Manderson. "I do not exaggerate when I say that the example set by you for forty years has been one of patriotism. You have trained your sons to be sons of America, to know what it is to uphold the flag of our free institutions.

"There remains to be trampled under foot an element of our population, countenanced and sustained by an unbridled press, an unprincipled rostrum, preaching the gospel of discontent. I can find no words in which to fittingly refer to the wretch who has done this thing, but I hold him harmless compared with those who prompted such sentiments. It is for us and for our sons to stamp out anarchy and socialism as we stamped out secession."

LESSONS TO BE DRAWN.

Justice David Brewer of the Supreme Court of the United States, who was one of the speakers at the First Congregational Church, spoke of the popular demand that the anarchists must go. He said in part:

"What shall we do? Many things are suggested. On every side we hear strong language expressive of the public horror at the crime. 'Anarchists must go; anarchism must be stamped out.' Some are eager to take the law into their own hands and deal out summary justice upon all who bear the odious name. They would rejoice to see every anarchist speedily put to death.

"Others are demanding that new legislation be enacted, while executives and legislators are declaring that in the coming winter they will see to it that laws are passed to drive anarchism from our borders. I may not discuss the terms of proposed legislation, as no one foresees either what it may do or what questions may arise out of it.

"But there are lessons to be drawn from the assassination of President McKinley by an anarchist which I wish to notice. One which should be borne home to every citizen of the nation, whether in or out of office, is the necessity of a personal respect for law. We denounce the assassination as a horrible crime. We denounce anarchism as the spirit of lawlessness and its followers as outlaws because they look upon all forms of government as wrong and all men in office as their enemies.

"But while anarchism may be the extreme of lawlessness, and anarchists the worst of outlaws, every breaking of the law breathes, though perhaps in a slight degree, the same spirit of lawlessness. Example is better than precept, and everyone may well remember that he does something toward checking the spirit of lawlessness and prevent-

ing the spirit of anarchism when, in his own life, he manifests a constant and willing obedience in letter and spirit to all the mandates of the law.

"Again, the anarchist declares that all government is wrong. He professes to be the enemy of all rulers. Social institutions, as they are, he denounces, pleading that they are unjust and oppressive. Now, if the workings of the social order are made such as to insure justice and peace and comfort to all, slowly the spirit of anarchism will disappear, for all will feel that society as it exists is a blessing rather than a curse to them.

WORK MUST BE DONE.

"And each one of us may in his place and life help to make all those workings of society cleaner and better, gentler and purer—more helpful to those who need, less burdensome to those who toil and richer in all things to all men.

"If the American people shall not spend all its energies in denunciation of this awful crime, or in efforts by force to remove anarchism and anarchists from our midst, but, moved and touched by the sad lesson, shall strive to fill the social life with more sweetness and blessing, then will it be that William McKinley, great in life, will become, partly on account of the circumstances of his death, greater and more influential in the future; an enduring blessing to the nation of which he was the honored ruler."

ANARCHY HAS NO GOD.

Rev. F. W. Gunsaulus, D. D.

"Anarchy has no God. Anarchy does not believe in government. Anarchy treats conscience, truth, justice and holiness as fables and farces. You never can have an antidote for the poison of anarchy until you have from ocean to ocean faith in God. The situation is not to be relieved by the enactment of statutes. Our statutes will be just as powerless as our sentiments. The only thing that shall make men support a righteous government is the faith that there rules throughout the universe a God of eternal righteousness, and that ultimately right will conquer wrong. I will be my own judge until I believe that God Almighty is judge of all the earth. Our courts of justice must seek to do His will. One court cannot make a mistake and that court is the court of Jehovah.

"Does any man believe here today that that wretch would have taken the life of William McKinley if he had believed in God? No. What this country needs today to take out of anarchy its heart of evil is the presence and working of the conviction of Almighty God. When we are willing to doubt man's immortality, we doubt America's future. Did the Pilgrim

Fathers sail to this land with the belief that tomorrow we die? Was the Great Remonstrance written against royal intolerance by men believing that tomorrow we die? Did Abraham Lincoln, when the thunder of Gettysburg shook the windows of the capitol at Washington, go and pray alone because he believed that tomorrow we die? Was there ever anything undertaken, any worthy task finished, that was not finished in the presence of the great idea that man is immortal? It is this unending destiny of the human soul that gives to the brain a breadth of vision and to the heart an abundant faith which presage mighty achievements."

The opinions of notable foreigners are along the same line.

THE POPE OF ROME.

A telegram from Vienna, under date of September 19, says:

"The Pope addressed the Catholic Bishops on Sunday and declared that President McKinley was a victim of the excessive freedom granted to the people of the United States."

The Nachrichten, of Bremen, in an editorial under date of September 17, violently attacks the United States government for what it calls its criminal encouragement of anarchists. It says:

"America is the breeding-ground of state-destroying elements. If liberal institutions do not permit of the curbing of anarchism or if the authorities are indifferent to finding means to do so, then these 'liberal' institutions are a menace to humanity. America should be made to understand that Europe is not willing to countenance the danger any longer. America has other duties to mankind than land-grabbing.

"President Roosevelt can earn the gratitude of the whole world if his first act is the extermination of the anarchists."

Some of the English papers are also severe upon what they call American leniency or American carelessness. They claim that although there is much talk of measures for repressing the teachings of organized lawlessness, much agitation concerning the surveillance and punishment of its promoters, still nothing is done.

The Manchester Guardian says: "America has received a sharp admonition for her boast of 'free speech.' We at least sent to prison the creature, Most, who is now gloating over the attack upon President McKinley. Moreover, in England we have a law of treason which would insure the hanging of Czolgosz (whether his victim died or not). Both America and France might go so far in protecting their presidents without invalidating their republican principles.

"The enactment of sterner laws against anarchy and the surveillance of its own anarchists is a duty which each country owes to itself."

FROM LABOUCHERE.

In a late issue of London Truth, after paying a beautiful tribute to President McKinley, Mr. Labouchere remarks that the state clearly has the right to silence any propaganda that endangers its own safety, though he adds that it may not be expedient to use this right. Society has the unquestionable right to stop the preaching of doctrines which aim at the destruction of organized society itself. If there ever should come a time when it would be a question whether the anarchists were to destroy society or society should destroy the anarchists, the latter would have a short shrift. But, as Mr. Labouchere says, that time is far off, and at present any measures designed to repress freedom of opinion should be used with the greatest caution, for they are apt to have an effect precisely the opposite of what is intended. On the other hand, to inculcate the idea of exterminating all rulers, or "even to enunciate vague general principles which may lead any crack-brained enthusiast to the conclusion that he will benefit humanity by shooting the first public official he comes across, whether it be a policeman or a President, is clearly a crime in itself, and must be dealt with as such if it assumes serious proportions."

OPINIONS OF THE LAW MAKERS.

Senators and congressmen intend to put down anarchy in America if stringent laws can accomplish this end. They favor also legislation making an attempt on the life of the President treason. An amendment to the constitution looking to this end is strongly favored, and the Record-Herald herewith presents the views of a great many of the nation's lawmakers concerning these two most vital subjects:

CHARLES R. SCHIRM, CONGRESSMAN FIRST MARYLAND DISTRICT.

"Baltimore, Sept. 9.—I am thoroughly in sympathy with the proposition to make it treason to attempt the life of the President. A bill to amend the constitution to that effect will scarcely meet with opposition. But I am willing to go further and make it a treasonable offense to conspire against the President's life. Mere conspiracy to do those acts which constitute treason has not in itself been held to be treason. Some overt act has been necessary.

"The time, however, has come when drastic measures must be used in dealing with anarchists. The miserable creatures who select their victims and their tools are no less guilty than those who execute their plans. Such a provision as suggested may, by arousing fear of being suspected of conspiracy, prevent such disgraceful spectacles as were witnessed in Chicago and Paterson, where the attempted assassination was applauded

and the would-be assassin toasted. These exhibitions of sympathy are little short of giving aid and comfort to the enemies of our country.

"I favor a federal statute making it a crime to advocate, in any meeting, the destruction of our government by force, punishable by banishment from the country, and in case of the return to the country of any one so banished the imposition of a term of years at hard labor."

CHARLES CURTIS, UNITED STATES SENATOR.

"Topeka, Kan.—I favor the enactment of laws that will prevent such crimes. The punishment cannot be too severe. It should be a crime for any person to attend an anarchistic meeting or belong to an anarchistic organization. Our immigration laws should be amended so as to keep anarchists out of this country, and we should have a uniform naturalization law."

WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH.

"Grand Rapids, Mich.—The attempt to take the life of President McKinley was a cowardly culmination of anarchistic utterances and writings. I favor such legislation as will make similar attempts high treason against the government and all persons, whether principals or accessories, punishable accordingly. Our national government has been too tolerant with its foes, and I hope the present awful calamity will result in the enactment of stringent laws and their rigid enforcement."

SENATOR WILLIAM BROWN.

"Let those talk who will about free speech—the supreme court has held that the crime of polygamy could not be indulged in under pretense of religious right, no more than the crime of human sacrifice could be indulged in as a pretense of religious liberty. What school is this of which we are talking? The school that deals death to our government and murder for our Presidents.

"What is anarchy? For a moment look at it—without government, turn the feeble-minded and the insane, the deaf and mute and blind out to wander among the people—then swing open the doors of your penitentiaries and jails and let the weak and vicious mingle and fight and scramble and row until no hearthstone is safe and no home protected—that is anarchy, and the man or woman who teaches it in this country enters into a conspiracy to commit murder and destroy government.

"I believe that the red flag of anarchy, red with the blood of our martyred McKinley, should never again be permitted to float under the same sky with our Stars and Stripes. I shall never rest till our statute books read that to teach anarchy is to teach murder, and the teacher is made punishable as accessory before the fact."

W. B. SHATTUC, CHAIRMAN OF HOUSE COMMITTEE.

"Cincinnati.—I would favor making the crime of attempted assassination of our public officials treason. I would advocate national and state legislation for entirely breaking up anarchists' associations and anarchistic meetings, held under no matter what name, and providing for the arrest and banishment of any person advocating their theories and for the immediate death of any one putting them into execution.

"I shall, as chairman of the house committee on immigration and naturalization, as soon as Congress convenes, appoint a sub-committee to consider a revision of the immigration laws of this country with a view of enactments for preventing the landing in this country of any such creatures as anarchists or those holding their views, and from becoming citizens of the United States, and for the enactment of a national law, so far as it may be done constitutionally, providing for the deportation or hanging of those disturbers of our peace and enemies to our government.

"Our country and its laws and institutions were shot at when the attempt was made to assassinate the President, and I will advocate any measure and go to any extreme to enable this country to rid itself of these vipers who should not have, under their own pleadings, any rights under any circumstances, to remain in this country or any other. If the Constitution, as it is, will not enable us to rid ourselves of them, we should amend the Constitution so that it will give the widest discretion in the matter. If there is any other obstacle it should be removed.

"Were it not for anarchistic meetings, anarchistic literature, anarchistic speeches, etc., such a thing as the murder of one of our Presidents or other public officials would not be thought of, and it is time to eliminate, to annihilate the sources from which these evils spring. It cannot be done too quickly, either."

H. D. MONEY, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MISSISSIPPI.

"Carrollton, Miss.—The question of punishing murder by anarchists or of punishing or preventing anarchistic meetings is for state legislation. I favor national legislation that will exclude them from this country."

N. B. SCOTT, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM WEST VIRGINIA.

"Wheeling, W. Va.—I am in favor of enacting laws that will make the meeting together of persons of avowed anarchistic and like teachings guilty of treason, and punishable accordingly, and to amend our naturalization laws so that persons known to hold such belief shall not be eligi-

THE RECEIVING VAULT.

ble to citizenship, and to amend our immigration laws so that this class of undesirable persons cannot be landed in this country."

SERENO E. PAYNE, REPRESENTATIVE TWENTY-NINTH NEW YORK DISTRICT.

"Auburn, N. Y.—Would favor legislation excluding anarchists from the country, deny them citizenship and punish them as criminals for teaching the right or duty of removing any executive officer by violence. The crime is akin to treason."

J. H. DAVIDSON, REPRESENTATIVE SIXTH WISCONSIN DISTRICT.

"Oshkosh, Wis.—Would favor such legislation as would prevent those who are called anarchists and who believe in the destruction of established governments by assassination of those in authority from entering into or becoming citizens of the United States. Attempted assassination of a president ought to be treason, and the punishment death."

JOHN B. CORLISS, REPRESENTATIVE FIRST MICHIGAN DISTRICT.

"Lansing, Mich.—Congress should legislate that the assassination of the president or attempt thereof be termed high treason, and provision made for the suppression of anarchists who plot or encourage such dastardly deeds."

C. I. SULLOWAY, REPRESENTATIVE FIRST MARYLAND DISTRICT.

"Manchester, N. H.—I am in favor of the most drastic legislation that can be authorized under the constitution. State legislation should also be enacted that would make it so hot for their fiendish acts and teachings that they would want to emigrate."

SENATOR HOAR.

"We shall, I hope, in due time, soberly, when the tempest of grief has passed by, find means for additional security against the repetition of a crime like this. We shall go as far as we can without sacrificing personal liberty to repress the doctrine which in effect is nothing but counseling murder."

FOR EMBARGO ON ANARCHISTS.

Congressman William Connell and Commissioner of Immigration Powderly are in communication regarding the drafting of a series of bills tending to prevent anarchist crimes like that of last Friday at Buffalo. Mr. Powderly will work on the revision of the laws relating to immigration, so as to prohibit the landing of anarchists. Congressman

Connell will look after the matter of penalizing assaults on the person of the president and other officials. Mr. Connell proposes to make such assaults a treasonable offense, and declares that if the constitution stands in the way, he will not stop short of an effort to change the constitution.

ANARCHY MUST CEASE.

We append a few extracts from the editorials of the leading journals of the country:

Baltimore Herald: Their presence in this country is a cancerous growth upon our republican form of government, and the most drastic measures used to remove them will not be too severe.

Philadelphia Times: The United States can offer no asylum to those who war against society, and all the forces of civilization must be exerted to stamp out their pernicious influence.

Kansas City Star: The problem of dealing with anarchy under republican rule is difficult, it is true, but it is one for which the government must find some method of solution, and that right early.

Columbus Dispatch: The laws against anarchy ought to be so stringent and so vigorously enforced that an individual who possesses its theories and preaches its doctrines cannot live in this country.

St. Paul Pioneer press: The people of America owe it to themselves to purge this land of liberty of these reptiles that use the muniments of freedom to strike at the foundations of all government.

Toledo Times: We cannot longer continue to turn anarchists out of one country to prey on others. Let the world put these people where they can harm no one but themselves in their experimenting.

Louisville Courier-Journal: We do not wait to kill a rattlesnake until his deadly fangs have struck; we should not wait to take anarchism by the throat until it has accomplished its openly avowed ends of assassination.

St. Paul Globe: Every known anarchist of foreign nativity should be driven from our shores. No man, native or foreign, ought to be allowed to remain at large who avows such doctrines. We should not await overt acts of violence.

Janesville Gazette: This horrible crime against a nation, a society and a home must be punished according to law; and be punished so quickly and so severely that it will stand out for generations as a glaring warning to anarchy in this and all countries.

Cleveland Leader: Nobody should be permitted to preach the gospel of murder in this country under the guise of anarchism or any other cloak. There should be freedom of speech, but that should not be extended to mean criminal license. It is time to call a halt.

Fond du Lac Commonwealth: Let such safeguards be provided as will drive every anarchist organization out of existence and every anarchist out of this country. Give these villains to know that this is one country where they cannot propagate their dangerous doctrines.

Minneapolis Times: What is to be done? The United States is proud of the fact that it offers an asylum, a home and a chance for freedom and livelihood to the oppressed of every nation. To anarchists, who are not oppressed but oppressors, the free ingress hitherto given must and shall be stopped.

Syracuse Standard: It has taken a bitter lesson to teach us the truth, that American liberty does not mean the setting up of a refuge for men and women whose creed is murder. Our easygoing way of hoping for the best and giving everybody the benefit of the doubt is to be amended in the case of anarchism.

Montana Record: The privilege of free speech has been abused and turned to bad ends, and should be restricted to exclude the ravings of these followers of the red flag. They should be exterminated so thoroughly that no sign of the red flag and no word of anarchistic doctrines will be heard in this land.

Boston Herald: Perhaps all governments may unite to establish an island colony where those who hold and promulgate the doctrine of anarchy can be compelled to go and live together as best they may, not as felons, but as persons affected with a peculiar insanity. Experience in governing themselves might work a cure.

Nashville Banner: Anarchist emigrants should be excluded from our shores, and those who have already found lodgment here should be deported. There is no country on earth that should afford a refuge for anarchists. To expel them is not to persecute for opinion's sake, but to take proper precaution against commission of crime.

New York World: If the public utterances of dangerous anarchist sentiments, such as the advocacy or approval of assassination, either by speech or in print, were made sufficient cause for deportation it would at least be impossible for these foreign fanatics to meet and glorify the assassin of an American president with impunity.

Pittsburg Dispatch: It was time long ago that the preaching of the anarchist violence should have been punished on the same basis as the crimes for which it was directly responsible. Had this been done for some years back the homicidal cranks would not have had the temptation which has resulted in their attempts on the lives of so many rulers.

Salt Lake Herald: The question is whether it is not time to restrain the liberties of certain classes; whether it is not a duty of the government when men are known to preach or to indorse the preaching of assassination or of treason, whether, as a just self-defense, it is not proper and right to put such men in places where they can do no more harm.

Richmond Dispatch: All of the infernal cult and all affiliated with them should be hunted down mercilessly and driven from American soil, and we would add that were it not for the danger of making an occasional mistake in identity it would be justifiable, we believe, in the sight of both God and man, to shoot any who refused to obey the order to go as one would a mad dog.

Boston Globe: We are a free republic, but surely we have the right to say that any man who publicly and expressly advocates a violent attack upon our political institutions or their lawfully chosen representatives, thereby forfeits the privileges and protection of the government which he would destroy. No man can be in a community and out of it at one and the same time. No man should be suffered to invoke a law which he has defiantly forsworn. No man should enjoy the rights of a citizenship which he has deliberately renounced. These several propositions rest upon a truth so obvious that they need no argument for their support.

Omaha Bee: Manifestly, however, anarchism cannot be permitted to flourish in this country unrestrained. It is certainly possible to break up such an organization of anarchistic conspirators as that at Paterson, N. J., and the governor of that state is to be heartily commended for his determination to proceed against this band of conspirators who boldly and defiantly proclaim their purpose and who are known to be in constant communication with like organizations in Europe. If the governor of New Jersey shall succeed in breaking up this association of would-be assassins his example may be followed wherever in this country similar organizations exist.

Memphis Commercial-Appeal: One thing is certain. Anarchy must be suppressed. To do this it may be necessary to surrender something that we prize highly, but the sacrifice must be made. Crazy people who go about the country are liable to do wrong and take a life on some mad,

momentary impulse, and many of these cannot be restrained because they cannot be singled out from among the common herd. They do not reveal their insanity, and they give no warning of impending danger. With the anarchist it is different. He boasts of his willingness and readiness to commit murder at any time when opportunity presents itself. He is always a murderer at heart. He should be given no chance to take life. He should be looked on as a menace to society and his tribe as ferine vermin.

Chicago Tribune: Anarchists are always atheists. Their fundamental proposition that there is no rightful government begins with the assertion that there is no God. If there is no God there is no moral government of the world, and in the general chaos it is every man for himself. If anarchy has any logic, anything beside its brutal hatreds, that is it.

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It is a remarkable fact, and one that will not soon be forgotten, that just when the assassin imagines he was doing something to usher in the new social condition, in which there would be neither God nor government of any sort, there came from the heart of the President such an acknowledgment of God as had the effect to waken in the hearts of all the people such a sense of the relation of God to human affairs as had never before in our history found more impressive utterance.

Philadelphia Ledger: A conspiracy to commit crime is punishable under the laws of the states. The transactions at many of the anarchist meetings constitute breaches of the peace. Inciting others to commit crime is a breach of the peace and makes participants amenable to the penalties for an unlawful assembly. The penalties are insufficient for breaches of the peace committed by anarchists, but such laws as apply should be rigorously enforced until stronger legislation can be enacted. Since the lamentable occurrence which took place at Buffalo our law expounders have been ingenious in suggesting improvements of new legislation. These are ex post facto suggestions, and, unfortunately, do not apply to Czolgosz; but the police power can be invoked to make the propagation of anarchism much more difficult than it has been in the past.

Boston Transcript: It is a serious question whether protective measures should not be adopted in this country to check the growth of anarchism. The most obvious method of procedure that suggests itself is restraint upon immigration. But it is difficult to see how this remedy could be made immediately effective. There are no earmarks by which

an anarchist can be infallibly identified. If an anarchist were not disposed to confess himself as such he could not be prevented from entering this country. To be sure persons who had made themselves conspicuous in Europe as leaders or members of anarchistic societies could be refused admission. But something more than an immigration act is required to stamp out anarchism. So long as anarchists are allowed their present freedom of organization, meeting and publication, they will continue to flourish. Nothing short of complete abrogation of that freedom will accomplish any substantial results. They should be placed beyond the pale of the law. The formation of anarchistic clubs should be prohibited; their publications should be suppressed and their leaders outlawed.

Washington Star: As for those reds now within this country the issue would rest between their direct expulsion or the enactment of laws calculated to render residence here unbearable for them. The choice between such alternatives need not be seriously difficult. The latter course recommends itself as the more effective of the two. For instance, this government can, by constitutional amendment, enlarge the definition of treason to cover attempts upon the life of the president and extend the range of treasonable crimes to permit the severe punishment of agitators who preach the destruction of governments and the murder of rulers. It can proscribe the holding of meetings and prevent the publication of journals devoted to the murder cult. It can prevent the deliverance of lectures such as those of Emma Goldman and her kind, intended to fire morbid minds with murderous intent. With such laws, enforced always with due regard for the enjoyment by citizens of the fundamental prerogatives of comment and criticism, this government could not only repress to a very large extent the diabolical doctrines which are poisoning thousands of minds today, but it could set an example of wise restrictions which, emulated by other powers, would render every portion of the civilized world an unsafe place in which to hatch conspiracies to murder.

CHAPTER XXX.

Trial and Condemnation of the Assassin.

INTRODUCTION TO TRIAL.

Respect for the law dominates the American people, and this was shown in the disposition of Leon Czolgosz. Saved from the fury of a mob, late an admiring, cheering throng, through the prompt intervention of the detectives, and hurried away to a dungeon at police headquarters, the assassin was given a speedy, fair and dignified trial, without any of the delays and disgraceful scenes that attended that of Guiteau.

Placed in the "sweat box," as searching examinations by the detectives are designated, the prisoner maintained a stolid demeanor, declaring that he had no accomplices. As no defense save insanity could reasonably be set up, the mental condition of Czolgosz was critically investigated, many experts being called to examine him. On September 9 he was declared to be sane. Dr. Carlos MacDonald, of New York, an insanity expert of wide reputation, saw the prisoner on September 21 and declared that he was not insane. It was understood that Dr. MacDonald was acting in the interests of justice, preparing himself to testify in the murderer's behalf, had he found him not accountable for his awful act. The following day Dr. MacDonald, assisted by Dr. Heard, a famous alienist, and Dr. James W. Putnam, of Buffalo, made a second examination, with the same result.

On September 16 the grand jury found an indictment against Czolgosz, charging him with murder in the first degree. This was immediately returned to Judge Emery, in the county court. Soon afterward the prisoner was brought to the jail in a carriage from the penitentiary, a mile distant. From the jail he was taken through a tunnel to the city hall, where the court was in session. This precaution was taken to avoid crowds of incensed people. He was shackled and held his eyes in a downcast position, and, in the opinion of alienists, was shamming insanity.

District Attorney Penney informed him that an indictment had been found against him and asked him if he wanted a lawyer. Czolgosz made no reply and the judge repeated the question, with the same result. The court then appointed two eminent lawyers and ex-judges, Loran L. Lewis and Robert C. Titus, to act as his attorneys. There was some doubt

whether the eminent gentlemen would accept the disagreeable appointment, but they bowed to the will of the court and assumed the thankless task. They saw their client for the first time on September 21. Before they arrived he had been talking freely with the detectives, but he stood absolutely mute before them, refusing to answer a single question.

The trial of Leon Czolgosz began before Justice Truman C. White, of the Supreme court of Erie county, on September 23. It was conducted in the city hall. Out of a panel of thirty-six jurors only one asked to be excused. The prisoner was brought into court shackled. He had been shaved—something that had before been denied him—and presented a neat appearance. He made no effort to sham insanity, as he had done upon his preliminary examination and other occasions. Not a shade of trouble or annoyance was visible on his face.

His manacles were removed as he sat down behind ex-Judge Titus and ex-Judge Lewis. He spoke not a word to either of them, and when his steadfast eyes were not resting upon the floor his glances were direct and steady at the face of Judge White or at the jurymen who were chosen to hear his case.

District Attorney Penney at once addressed the prisoner, reading the indictment within a few feet of the accused man's face, but in a voice so low that it could not be heard beyond the railing. Czolgosz did not seem to realize that the words were directed at him. His eyes rested for a moment upon the face of the judge. He looked curiously at Mr. Penney, then drooped his glance upon the floor, held his hands together easily and naturally in his lap and waited.

Justice White's challenge, "What have you to say?" seemed to arouse him. He looked calmly up. His lips moved as if he would ask a question, and it was evident that he had not heard the charge as read. Mr. Penney repeated the reading and when Justice White again asked, "What have you to say?" Czolgosz said in a low but clear voice that could be heard in every part of the room:

"Guilty."

He was standing as he said it, and he looked straight at the judge. Not a muscle trembled. He had answered as nonchalantly as if to the question, "Are you hot or cold?" he had simply answered "Cold."

The technical plea of "not guilty" was then formally ordered and entered, and Judge Titus, for the defense, arose and explained that the attitude of himself and his associate in the case was embarrassing and peculiar, consisting chiefly in the enforced duty of securing all the forms of law and justice in the prosecution of the case. In reply Justice White complimented the lawyers for the defense and predicted that whatever might be the outcome of the trial it could not but reflect credit upon them.

The examination of veniremen was then begun and proceeded with such rapidity that at noon the seventh man had taken his place in the jury box. Judge Lewis, who, for the defense, did most of the questioning, asked every proposed juryman whether he would acquit a man whose insanity at the moment of the murder was proved, and whether he, the juryman, had been a witness of the shooting or present in the Temple of Music at the moment the President was shot. Most of the veniremen excused expressed the belief that their opinions as to the assassin's guilt were already so firmly fixed that no amount of testimony or argument could shake their belief. Many who admitted that they had already formed an opinion, but insisted that they were open to argument and proof, were readily admitted by both sides.

During the examination of veniremen Czolgosz sat erect and unflinching in his chair. He held his head upright generally, but at times, as if wearied with the procedure, in which he evinced no interest whatever, his head would loll to one side in a position which seems habitual and which was well expressed in the picture of him first published in the newspapers.

At noon the court adjourned until two o'clock. Forty minutes after the reassembling of the court the jury was completed, being made up of the following, all of mature age, eight being born Americans, three Germans and one Englishman: Frederick V. Lauer, plumber; Richard G. Garwood, street railway foreman; Henry W. Wendt, manufacturer; Silas Cramer, farmer; James S. Stygall, plumber; William Loton, farmer; Walter K. Everett, blacksmith; Benjamin J. Ralph, bank cashier; Samuel P. Waldo, farmer; Andrew J. Smith, commission merchant; Joachim H. Mertens, shoe dealer; Robert J. Adams, contractor.

After a brief statement of the case by Assistant District Attorney Frederick Haller, the first witness, Samuel J. Fields, chief engineer of the Pan-American Exposition, was called and submitted drawings showing the scene of the assassination in the Temple of Music.

Dr. Harvey R. Gaylord, of Buffalo, who was then called, testified that he had performed the autopsy upon the body of the President. He described the wounds in the stomach, the direction of the bullet and the condition of the organs and portions touched by the missile.

"Back of the stomach," he said, "was a track in which I could insert the tip of my fingers. It was filled with a dark fluid matter. The search for the bullet was not continued after the cause of death had been ascertained. The pancreas was seriously involved. The cause of death was the gunshot wound. The organs of the body other than those affected were in a normal condition.

"The wounds in the stomach were not necessarily the cause of death. The fundamental cause was the changes back of the stomach. The

actual cause was absorption of the broken down matter of the pancreas. There is nothing known to medical science that would have arrested the progress of the changes caused by the passage of the bullet through the pancreas."

Judge Lewis closely cross-examined Dr. Gaylord on the question whether antiseptics were used to prevent inflammation. The doctor explained that inflammation resulted from bacteria entering the wound and that antiseptics were used to kill these germs.

District Attorney Penney closely questioned Dr. Herman Mynter, the next witness, regarding the operation performed at the exposition hospital immediately after the shooting. Dr. Mynter said that the surgeons found the wound in the upper left hand side of the abdominal cavity; that the president at once agreed to an operation, understanding perfectly that perhaps his life depended upon it.

"The abdomen was opened," said Dr. Mynter, "but it was difficult to get at the wound in the back of the stomach. The stomach was turned around and the orifice there, as well as that at the front, sutured and antiseptically washed. We could not follow the further course of the bullet at that time, and, as the president's temperature was rising, it was agreed by all the physicians and surgeons present that further search was inadvisable at the time. The stomach was replaced, and on the advice of all present the patient was removed to the Milburn house."

As to the result of the autopsy, Dr. Mynter said that it proved, first, that there was no inflammation of the bowels; second, that there was no injury to the heart; third, that there was a gunshot wound in the stomach, and fourth, that there was a gangrenous spot back of the stomach as large as a silver dollar. He stated that the cause of death was blood poisoning from the absorption of poisonous matter caused by the gangrene; that primarily it was the gunshot wound.

Dr. Matthew D. Mann, another of the physicians who attended President McKinley, was the next witness. He went over the ground covered by Dr. Mynter and described the operation performed at the exposition hospital.

"To find the track of the bullet, back of the stomach," Dr. Mann explained, "it would have been necessary to remove the bowels from the abodminal cavity. The performance of that operation would probably have resulted fatally, as the president already had grown very weak as a result of the first operation."

The cross-examination of Dr. Mann, which was conducted at considerable length, was not concluded when the court adjourned for the day.

The cross-examination of physicians, the direct testimony of secret

service officers, marines and other immediate witnesses of the tragedy occupied most of the day. Dr. Mann explained that the optimistic bulletins sent out during the first days of the president's illness were based upon the evident facts of his improving condition without regard to what might eventuate. There was, he said, no way to predict the final catastrophe, but the press had even exaggerated the hopefulness of the statements at first made by the doctors.

The doctors explained that President McKinley was not in first-class physical condition when he was shot. Lack of exercise, hard work and a dearth of fresh air had somewhat weakened his normal vigor they said.

The long story of the anarchist's frank and even satisfied admissions to the police after his arrest, his boasts of "duty done," his free and unforced statements of the motives which prompted him as he told them after his arrest, his lack of remorse, his physical indifference, were all exploited by the witnesses who saw him shoot down the president and later listened to his own recital of the cowardly crime.

No witnesses were sworn for the defense. Not a word of evidence was before the court as to the sanity of the prisoner. The alienists who examined him were not called. To the assassin was offered the opportunity to go on the stand, but he only shook his head when his lawyers asked him.

When Czolgosz came to court in the morning he was dressed as on the preceding day, but every one was instantly struck with the change in his appearance and demeanor. He had tried to conceal it, and had smeared his hair with vaseline, so that it looked darker and ran into oily curls.

The life, the stamina was gone out of him. His head drooped in spite of him. It was a more trying day for him. He saw exhibited in court the revolver with which he did his crime, the burnt handkerchief, in which he had concealed it, the one bullet that was recovered, and he heard the testimony of the men who saw the deed and met again those who seized him. He found that of the physicians who had examined him not one was to testify to help him, and there was no refuge in the plea of insanity. The death chamber was clearly in sight.

Judge Lewis addressed the jury on behalf of the defense, his associate afterwards concurring in all he said. As he progressed it became apparent that his whole soul recoiled against the crime which he sought to extenuate. His utter helplessness and the stubborn refusal of the accused man to aid him added to the sympathy felt for Judge Lewis, and when he had concluded his speech every hearer bowed in respect to his age, his eloquence and his unhidden admiration for the martyred president.

"This trial here is a great object lesson to the world," he said in the course of his moving speech. "Here is a case where a man has stricken down the beloved president of this country in broad daylight, in the presence of hundreds of thousands of spectators. If there was ever a case that would excite the anger, the wrath of those who saw it, this was one, and yet, under the advice of the president, 'Let no man hurt him,' he was taken, confined in our prison, indicted, put upon trial here and the case is soon to be submitted to you as to whether he is guilty of the crime charged against him. That, gentlemen, speaks volumes in favor of the orderly conduct of the people of the city of Buffalo.

"How can a man with a sane mind perform such an act? The rabble in the streets will say, no matter whether he is insane or not, he deserves to be killed. The law, however, says that you must consider the circumstances, and see if he was in his right mind or not when he committed the deed. If you find he was not responsible you would aid in lifting a great cloud from the minds of the people of this country. If the beloved president had met with a railroad accident and been killed our grief could not compare with what it is now. If you find that he met his fate through the act of an insane man, it is the same as though he met it by accident.

"I had the profoundest respect for President McKinley. I watched him in congress and during his long public career, and he was one of the noblest men God ever made. His policy we care nothing about, but it always met with my profoundest respect. His death was the saddest blow to me that has occurred in many years."

District Attorney Penney concluded a brief but most eloquent address, with these words:

"The duty of counsel on both sides is ended. The court will charge you briefly, then it will be your duty to take up the case. No doubt the same thought, the same object, is in all our minds—that although our beloved country has lost its greatest man, it still should maintain the respect of the whole world, and it should be made known to the whole world that no man can come here and commit such a dastardly act and not receive the full penalty of the law."

In his charge, Justice White set out, briefly, but clearly, the law that was to govern the jury in reaching their verdict. In the course of it he said:

"I am very glad that up to the present stage of this lamentable affair, so far as the jury and people of this city are concerned, there has been shown that respect for the law that is bound to teach a valuable object lesson. The defendant has been given every advantage of experienced counsel. I deplore any incitement to violence, and the man who is ready

to go out and commit a crime because some other man had committed it is as guilty as the latter, and his act is just as reprehensible."

"Guilty of murder in the first degree as charged in the indictment," was the response of Foreman Henry W. Twendt to the formal question of the clerk, when the jury returned to the courtroom after an absence of thirty minutes. Czolgosz heard the verdict without apparent emotion and was handcuffed and led back to his cell.

The stony reserve which had been a distinguishing characteristic of the actions of Czolgosz, remained unbroken the day after his conviction, when the prisoner had a visit from the members of his family. His father, brother and sister, who obtained permission to visit him in the cell, were each overcome by their feelings and wept and implored Czolgosz to tell the names of the people who had aided him in the plot, in the hope that such a confession would release the family from the stain which had descended upon it.

To all such entreaties Czolgosz turned a deaf ear. He said quietly that he was glad to see his relatives, just as he would have said he was glad to see an acquaintance in the days of his freedom, and he talked quietly of every subject that was suggested to him save only the subject of a plot.

Victoria Czolgosz, the sister of the assassin, a girl 16 years of age and quite pretty, became eloquent as she described to her brother how the finger of scorn was pointed at them wherever they went and how the name of Czolgosz had become so infamous that they were ashamed to bear it before men. The girl wept bitterly and begged and begged again that some light might be thrown on the reason why he killed McKinley.

"I only did my duty. No, there was no one to help me. I did it all myself," said the prisoner at last, but without the slightest indication of regret or other emotion.

It was apparent throughout the interview that the prisoner did not trust the members of his family at all, but thought that they were acting as spies and had been brought to his cell in order that he might make some statements which would be of use to the police. For this reason his replies showed marked distrust and even in answers to questions of most simple import he waited a long time before giving answers.

In the course of the whole visit Czolgosz never asked a single question regarding his other relatives or showed any interest in the affairs of the world. Every word he uttered was in reply to a question, and every answer was restrained and guarded in its tenor. Reason, emotion, argument, paternal authority, sisterly affection, all alike failed to move him one jot from the stony impassiveness noticed in him from his first examination by the police.

For thirty-five minutes this interview proceeded, agonized on the part of the visitors, unconcerned on the side of the prisoner. Then came the time for good-byes. Paul Czolgosz, the father, his emotion clearly showing in his actions, tremblingly held out his hand to his son, who, even if he had killed the president of his country, was still his son. Czolgosz shook it quietly, bade his father good-bye in a quiet voice and then shook the hand of his brother Waldeck in the same half-friendly manner.

But his sister would not be content with this. The tears streaming down her cheeks, she flung her arms around the prisoner and kissed him several times. Quite unperturbed, Czolgosz submitted to her embrace and then when she turned to go said:

"Good-bye, Victoria; good-bye, all of you."

On the afternoon of September 26 the convicted assassin was brought into court to hear the already well-understood but none the less awful sentence of death. As a preliminary, the prisoner was sworn and examined by Mr. Penney. He answered the questions in a weak voice. In substance his statement was as follows:

He was, he said, born in Detroit, twenty-eight years ago, his last residence having been on Broadway, Buffalo. He was a single man and had worked as a laborer and ironworker. He received his education in the common and in Catholic schools; was a member of the Catholic church. His father was living, his mother dead. He stated that he did not drink much, but did not answer when asked if he was ever drunk. He had never been convicted of a crime.

Asked if he had anything to say, any reasons to urge why a sentence of death should not be pronounced upon him, the prisoner replied that he could not hear. After considerable explanation he made the following statement:

"There was no one else but me. No one else told me to do it and no one paid me to do it. I was not told anything about that crime and I never thought anything about murder until a couple of days before I committed the crime."

Czolgosz sat down. He was quite calm, but it was evident that his mind was flooded with thoughts of his own distress. His eyes were dilated, making them appear very bright. His cheeks were a trifle pale and his outstretched hand trembled. The guards put the handcuffs on his wrists. He looked at one of the officers.

There was an expression of the profoundest fear and helplessness in his eyes. He glanced about at the people who crowded the room in efforts to get a look at him. The prisoner's eyelids rose and fell tremulously and then he fixed his gaze on the floor in front of him.

At this point Judge Titus came over to the prisoner and bade him

good-bye. Czolgosz replied very faintly, letting his eye rest upon the man who had been his counsel.

"Good-bye," he said, weakly.

The convicted murderer looked fixedly, unflinchingly upon the judge as he pronounced sentence in the following words:

"In taking the life of our beloved President you committed a crime which shocked and outraged the moral sense of the civilized world. You have confessed that guilt, and after learning all that at this time can be learned from the facts and circumstances of the case twelve good jurors have pronounced you guilty of murder in the first degree.

"You have said, according to the testimony of creditable witnesses and yourself, that no other person aided or abetted you in the commission of this terrible act. God grant it may be so. The penalty for the crime for which you stand convicted is fixed by this statute and it now becomes my duty to pronounce this judgment against you.

"The sentence of the court is that in the week beginning October 28, 1901, at the place, in the manner and means prescribed by law, you suffer the punishment of death."

At ten o'clock on the night when sentence was passed, Sheriff Caldwell and sixteen men left Buffalo to convey the condemned man to the prison at Auburn, where it was to be carried into effect. Arriving at Auburn, about three o'clock the following morning, Czolgosz encountered an angry throng of some 300 persons and almost totally collapsed, being stricken with the most abject fear.

During his progress from the train to the prison gate, between two deputies to whom he was handcuffed, he was mauled by the crowd. So unexpected was the onslaught of the crowd that the police and deputies had scarcely time to draw their revolvers and clubs. The advance guard made a dash for the crowd. A dozen prison keepers threw ajar the gates. Then came a short, sharp conflict.

One burly fist reached his head and brought instant collapse. His guards had to drag him up the stairs to the prison office. Here he tumbled to his knees in abject terror, frothing at the mouth and uttering the most terrifying cries. He stumbled to a cane seat and lay there moaning in terror, while the crowd hung on to the iron gates and yelled, "Give him to us! Let us in at the murderer!"

But scant ceremony was accorded him. The handcuffs were taken off. He was dragged through the heavy oaken, iron-barred door to the warden's office. As a matter of fact he was carried, with his feet dangling behind him on the ground. Four husky keepers held his shoulders and arms.

They dumped him into a chair, a limp, disheveled figure, his cries echoing down the long corridors and arousing all the other convicts. He

was in a state of absolute collapse, and when left alone rolled over to the floor, where he lay stretched at full length, his eyes rolling in a frenzy and his frothing lips twitching convulsively. Two keepers seized him and commanded him to stand up. His knees shook and he fell to the floor.

"Oh! Oh! Oh!" he shrieked again as the howls from the crowd without came through the windows.

"Shut up! You're faking!" said Dr. Gern, the prison physician. The assassin obeyed the command except that he moaned dismally in a quieter tone and continued to writhe in agony. Two keepers stripped him of his clothing and placed on him a prison suit of clothing. He was not then bathed, nor was his pedigree taken. These formalities were complied with the following morning.

"Such was the end, so far as the outer world is concerned, of the man who deliberately took the life of gentle, genial, generous William McKinley, the most highly appreciated and universally beloved President that living Americans have ever seen. Potent enough to nerve his hand to the commission of a diabolical and most illogical crime, the teachings of anarchy utterly failed to support him as he approached that closing scene when human nature so sadly needs help.

LEON CZOLGOSZ
The Assassin of McKinley

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Great Speech of Senator J. N. Thurston at the St. Louis Convention, June 17, 1896.

THE NATION'S MAN.

Who can best lead the republican party back to power—grandly, triumphantly back to power?

We have in mind one man who combines all the qualities of American greatness; who has gathered renown upon every field of American achievement; who wears upon his breast the cross of valor, won in the forefront of his country's battles, and on his brow the laurel of many victories earned in the arena of national statesmanship. This man has so far outgrown the environments of state and locality that he stands the acknowledged representative of every section of the Union; he has so long and so ably championed the American protective system that he is today the one accredited representative and accepted spokesman of our toiling masses. His public service has been continuous, diversified and splendidly successful; while his home life, wherein is typified the truest character of the man, is an epic poem of domestic devotion.

And this man upon whose burnished shield malice can find no blemish and slander place no stain; this man, whose whole life has been consecrated to his God, his country and his home; this man whose intense loyalty and devotion to American interests make him the ideal leader for a supreme hour; this man of the people, this uncompromising friend of those who toil, a soldier, a statesman, patriot, without fear and without reproach, our candidate for the presidency of the United States, is William McKinley.

Who is William McKinley? A soldier of the republic, a boy volunteer, knighted by his country's commission for conspicuous gallantry on desperate fields. When Sheridan, summoned by the rising roar of doubtful battle, rode madly down from Winchester and drew nigh to the shattered and retreating columns of his army, the first man he met to know was a young lieutenant, engaged in the heroic task of rallying and reforming the Union lines, ready for the coming of the master, whose presence and genius alone could wrest victory from defeat. That young lieutenant was a private in 1861, a major in 1866. The years

that others gave to educational pursuits he gave to his country. His Alma Mater was the tented field. He graduated in a class of heroes. His diploma bears the same signature as does the emancipation proclamation.

This is a good time for a soldier candidate, for one whose experience in war has been supplemented by more than a quarter of a century of diversified service and success in the affairs of state. A few more years and the youngest participant in the war of the rebellion will have passed from active life, and all too soon the last survivor will cease to bless us with his living presence. This is perhaps our only remaining opportunity to nominate for the presidency a man who combines the distinguished qualities of proven valor and ripe statesmanship.

There are other, graver reasons why a soldier should head the ticket. We are at peace with all the world, and yet within the last few days prophetic ears have almost heard the clash of resounding arms. This country may be confronted during the next administration with the gravest international complications. Foreign greed for dominion and territorial extension may hold much of menace to our honor and our peace.

The Monroe doctrine may never be accepted as international law except through the arbitrament of arms. The people of this country are looking anxiously and seriously to the future. Nothing can so certainly relieve their anxiety; nothing can so thoroughly satisfy them that peace, with honor, will be preserved as the election to the presidency of a man who is not only a successful statesman, but who was also a successful soldier. They knew that the lieutenant who held the wavering lines for Sherman in the Valley of the Shenandoah will hold the honor of his country as paramount to all other considerations, and that under his administration no American principle will ever be surrendered to any foreign demand.

But the history of McKinley is not all of war. For two decades he served his country as a representative in the congress of the United States, rising to no sudden prominence, attempting no eagle flight, but mounting gradually and steadily, year after year, until he became the recognized leader upon its floor. As chairman of its most important committee he formulated, championed and pressed to passage the most perfect protective tariff act ever framed, under the beneficent operation of which this country reached its greatest prosperity, and with whose repeal came its most terrible industrial and commercial disaster.

The McKinley tariff of 1890 has been criticised and maligned, but under it there was no deficit in our revenues; there was no dissipation of the gold reserve; there was no panic, no business depression, no millions of

unemployed. On the contrary, stimulated by its protective provisions, every industry in the country grew apace. While it remained upon our statute books there were more factories in operation, more men at labor, more money in circulation, more wages paid, more business activity and more universal and diversified prosperity than in any other period of the nation's life. The republican party may not stand for the precise re-enactment of every schedule of the McKinley act, but it does stand, and it must stand, by the broad principle of protection, so splendidly exemplified therein.

It has been said that the McKinley tariff was repudiated by the people in 1890 and 1892, but the phenomenal republican victories of 1894 and 1895 can be attributed to no other cause than their readoption of the protective features of that act. Its repeal was attended by all the disasters which its author has so vividly predicted, and the people have been educated on the tariff question since 1892. The demand for the re-enactment of a protective tariff has made a republican camp of every labor community in the United States; and the men, whose votes have swung the pendulum of majorities back and forth, are today the men whose voices are uplifted and whose hearts are throbbing for the nomination of William McKinley.

What does the name of William McKinley not mean to the men of toil? It means a higher-priced dinner pail, but it means a dinner pail abundantly filled and proudly carried by each sturdy toiler of the land, in whose brawny hand it is the badge of America's truest nobility.

What does the name of McKinley not mean to the vast army of the unemployed, to the deserted factories and workshops? What does it not mean to the farmers of the United States? They at last understand that the decline in the price of every American agricultural product kept pace with the downfall of American manufacturers and the attendant decrease in the earnings of the labor classes.

No other man, no other name can arouse such enthusiasm in all parts of our country. He is the logical candidate of New England, for he has proven himself the stalwart friend of all her vast enterprises and interests. He is the logical candidate of the mighty West, which looks to him, and to the policies which his candidacy would represent, to stay that steady current of depreciation in all their products which set in so strongly from the very hour of the repeal of the McKinley act. He is the logical candidate of the new South, that section which is breaking away from the traditions and limitations of the past; that new South which stands ready, under protective legislation, for such a new development of resources and such a phenomenal industrial activity, as will contest for supremacy with those of the richest and most highly developed portions of the Union.

Who is opposed to the nomination of William McKinley? We do not question the sincerity or patriotism of the followers of other great party leaders, but there may be some whose local pride in local candidates blinds them to the overwhelming demand of the republican masses; there may be some whose desire makes them indifferent to the welfare of the people; there may be some whose lust for patronage is greater than their love of country.

Let all such take heed. Politicians have defeated the popular will in more than one national convention, but this time the tide is too strong, the demand too great, the enthusiasm too spontaneous to be ignored.

William McKinley has not a personal enemy in the United States. Every man who served with him in all his congressional life grew not only to respect and honor him for his private and public worth, for his sincere convictions and his courageous, consistent and patriotic course, but each and all held for him a measure of affection greater than the love of friends. No man has ever been called upon to apologize for anything he ever did, for any word he ever spoke. His record is as white and clean as the driven snow. The sincerity of his convictions has never been questioned even by political foes, and the courage and eloquence with which he has advocated and maintained them have won for him the admiration of all mankind.

He has addressed the people in every section of the country, and his words have carried greater conviction and secured more converts to republican principles than those of any other living man. His public experience and service have been rounded; his character strengthened and seasoned; his executive ability demonstrated; his fitness for power more clearly shown by his administration of the great state of Ohio. And today, in the prime of life, in the full vigor of health and strength, he stands foremost among the distinguished leaders and statesmen of his time; pre-eminent in all the qualities that make a man; equipped with every weapon of experience and statecraft; a gigantic figure in American politics; the man toward whom the people instinctively turn to lead them from the wilderness back into the promised land.

He will be nominated and elected; yea, it is written in the stars! And what a grand, patriotic, overwhelming chorus of rejoicing will greet him as he inaugurates a new American administration. Every ponderous waterwheel, weakened by the rush and roar of captive waters; every glad spindle, whirling to the impulse of restored activity; every shrill whistle calling impatient millions once again to labor, will thunder and sing and scream for joy, for the beneficent bow of a regained prosperity will span the American heavens when William McKinley is President of the United States."

We cannot more fittingly close this volume than by giving the above eloquent speech of Senator Thurston in seconding the nomination of William McKinley for the presidency in 1896. It contains a glowing prophecy which met a magnificent fulfillment.

"The beneficent bow of a regained prosperity" did indeed "span the American heavens" when Mr. McKinley was elected to the highest office the people could confer upon him. And though he has gone, at the end of his arduous and beneficent life to the reward of the righteous in the upper and eternal kingdom of God, the radiant bow of promise still arches in splendor over the American nation.

The good work of unity, reciprocity and good will so auspiciously inaugurated by our "well beloved" martyred President will be grandly carried forward as the years roll on. We need have no pessimistic fears regarding the future of our own America. Anarchy is but a passing evil incident in our progressive march into history. The funeral of William McKinley, unprecedented in the annals of mankind, did not mean the burial of the republic.

Above the undertone of the sorrowful strains that burst from millions of American lips, when we laid our honored dead to rest, was the exultant overtone of the heaven-inspired song of that youthful continental chaplain, in the darkest days of the Revolution, who wrote:

"Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise,
The queen of the world, and the child of the skies."

There is no consumption in Columbia's blood; there is no fever in her veins; there is no paralysis in her limbs; there is no organic disease in her heart. The strength of the everlasting hills is in her glorious frame; the beauty of her flashing lakes and rivers and seas is in her tear-stained face; the light of benignity is in her beaming eyes, though the gleaming sword of justice against anarchy is in her uplifted hand; a sweep oceanic is in her expanding thought. To "hush the tumult of war and give peace to the world" is her divinely appointed mission. She is indeed the child of the skies. She shall not fail nor be discouraged in her sublime work. "No weapon that is formed against her shall prosper, for heaven will never abandon the offspring of its love.